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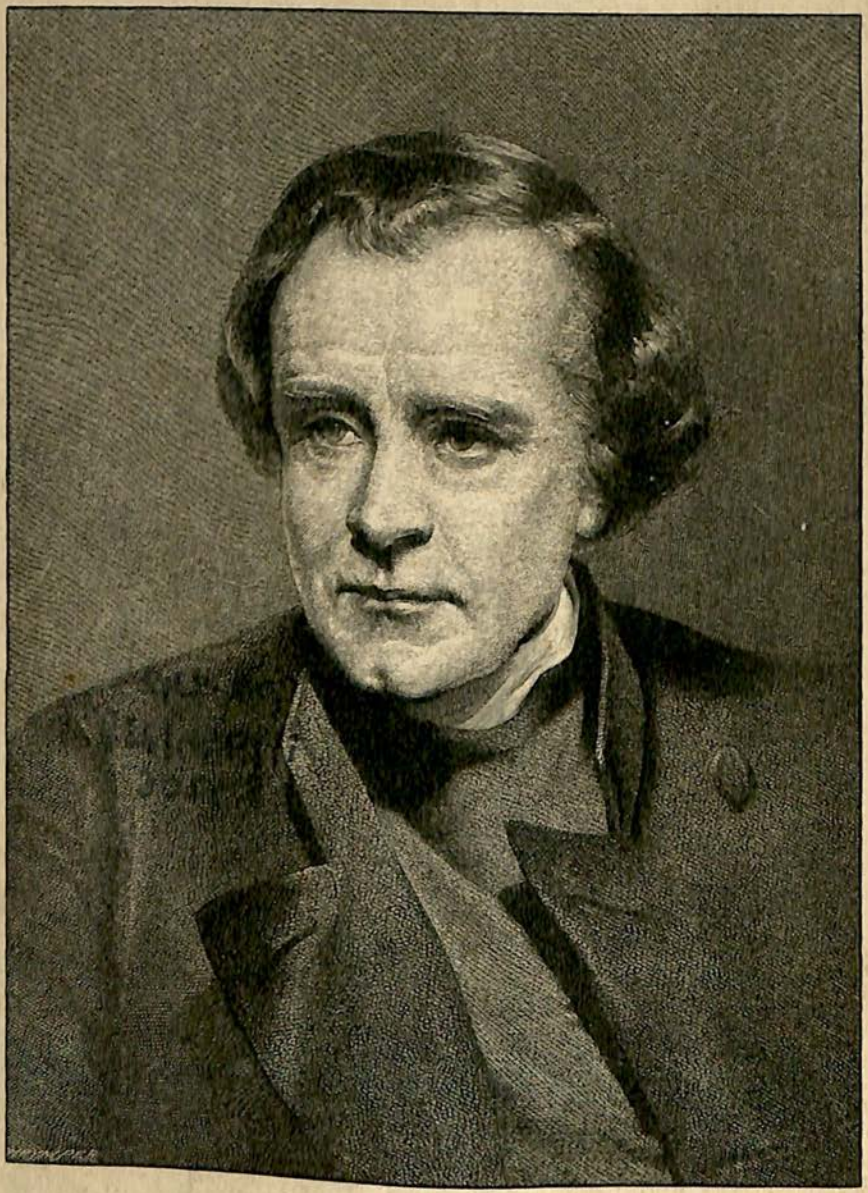
THE RIGHT REV.

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D.

VOL. III.



Milton

LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD AND AFTERWARDS
OF WINCHESTER

WITH SELECTIONS FROM

HIS DIARIES AND CORRESPONDENCE

BY HIS SON

REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE

IN THREE VOLUMES—VOL. III.

WITH A PORTRAIT BY G. RICHMOND, R.A.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1882

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PREFACE.

THIS, the concluding volume of Bishop Wilberforce's 'Life,' carries the reader into a well-defined period. The first volume described the preparation for his work; the second the period of struggle; while this, the last, is an attempt to pourtray him as he was during the last ten years of his life—'the undisputed leader among the English Bishops.' The effort in Convocation to obtain a Synodical condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews'—a result obtained at first only by the casting vote of the venerable Archbishop—shows how divided were the counsels of the Episcopate, and the man, therefore, who could and did reconcile these conflicting counsels into unanimity, stepped, by so doing, into the position of actual, though not of nominal, leader. Again, in the troubles concerning Dr. Colenso, it was Bishop Wilberforce who penned the address signed by forty-one Bishops. In the Pan-Anglican Synod the pastoral letter which was agreed upon was his work. The first Report of the Ritual Commission was drawn up by him; and the skill with which he averted restrictive legislation in 1867, when nearly the whole Bench of Bishops were in favour of a measure of the kind, explains still more clearly the ascendancy which was conceded to him by his Episcopal brethren. When it is further remembered that, in the

year after he was called away, the Bishops did introduce the Public Worship Regulation Act—a measure the evils of which they did not foresee—it will be felt how much the Church had been indebted to his foresight and courage.

But a greater proof of Bishop Wilberforce's power and influence is to be found in the letters which were written to him, by persons of all conditions, asking his advice. These letters cannot appear in his 'Life,' for two reasons. They are so numerous that they would of themselves fill volumes; and the answers were not kept. American Bishops, Colonial Bishops, Missionary Bishops, all wrote to him for counsel. Whenever and wherever there was trouble, in all parts of the world, it was Bishop Wilberforce who was applied to. Testimony to his never-failing readiness to help is afforded by letters from many clergy who had been ordained by the Bishop, who had found their work in distant lands, and who write to thank him for his fatherly assistance.

In Parliament his natural powers as an orator, and his practised skill in debate, forced him into the very front rank. All Church legislation was entrusted to him, and he it was who bore the brunt of all attacks upon the Church, whether by attempted legislation or by oratorical invective. A striking side, indeed, of the Bishop's life has not been dwelt upon in these volumes: his social accomplishments were too various and versatile to admit of being described by any word-painting. One who knew the Bishop well said, with reference to his conversational powers: 'It was not

the constantly saying clever and brilliant things which constituted the charm of the Bishop's manner; it was the ever-varying, continuous, changing flow of conversation which made him so delightful a companion. One might liken it best to the *ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* of the waves of the ocean.'

Thus my labour of love is over, and it only remains for me to again thank those who have so kindly helped me. In addition to the names already mentioned in the Preface to Volume II., who have again helped me, I have to acknowledge the kind assistance of the Dean of Lichfield. I ought to add that these pages were all in print before the deaths of the Dean of Windsor and the Rev. Dr. Pusey, both of whom are more than once mentioned.

For the convenience of the reader a list of the Bishops during the years embraced by this volume is subjoined.

R. G. WILBERFORCE.

LAVINGTON: *October* 1882.

		Appointed
Archbishop of Canterbury	John Bird Sumner	1848
	Charles Thomas Longley	1862
	Archibald Campbell Tait	1868
Archbishop of York	Charles Thomas Longley	1860
	William Thomson	1862
Bishop of London	Archibald Campbell Tait	1856
	John Jackson	1868
Bishop of Durham	Hon. Henry Montagu Villiers	1856
	Charles Baring	1861
Bishop of Winchester	Charles Richard Sumner	1827
	Samuel Wilberforce	1869
Bishop of Bangor	James Colquhoun Campbell	1859
Bishop of Bath and Wells	Robert J. Eden (Lord Auckland)	1854
	Lord Arthur Hervey	1869

Bishop		Appointed
Carlisle	Hon. Samuel Waldegrave	1860
	Harvey Goodwin	1869
Chester	John Graham	1848
	William Jacobson	1865
Chichester	Ashhurst Turner Gilbert	1842
	Richard Durnford	1870
Ely	Thomas Turton	1845
	Edward Harold Browne	1864
Exeter	Henry Philpotts	1830
	Frederick Temple	1869
Gloucester and Bristol	William Thomson	1861
	Charles John Ellicott	1863
Hereford	Renn Dickson Hampden	1848
	James Atlay	1868
Lichfield	John Lonsdale	1843
	George Augustus Selwyn	1867
Lincoln	John Jackson	1853
	Christopher Wordsworth	1868
Llandaff	Alfred Ollivant	1849
Manchester	James Prince Lee	1848
	James Fraser	1870
Norwich	Hon. John Thomas Pelham	1857
Oxford	Samuel Wilberforce	1845
	James Fielder Mackarness	1869
Peterboro'	George Davys	1839
	Francis Jeune	1864
	William Connor Magee	1868
Ripon	Robert Bickersteth	1856
Rochester	Joseph Cotton Wigram	1860
	Thomas Legh Claughton	1867
St. Asaph	Thomas Vowler Short	1846
	Joshua Hughes	1870
St. David's	Connop Thirlwall	1840
Salisbury	Walter Kerr Hamilton	1854
	George Moberly	1869
Worcester	Henry Pepys	1841
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The Portrait forming the Frontispiece to this Volume is from a Painting by George Richmond, Esq., R.A.

Errata in Volume I.

Page 2, line 2, *for* '1854' *read* '1864.'
,, 37, ,, 8, ,, 'Lady Prevost' *read* 'Miss Prevost.'
,, 136, ,, 20, ,, 'Crab Robinson' *read* 'Crabb Robinson.'
,, 151, ,, 21, ,, 'cathedrals' *read* 'canonries.'
,, 187, ,, 33, ,, '1865' *read* '1855.'
,, 196, in notis, ,, 'Lowe' *read* 'Low.'

Errata in Volume II.

Archdeacon Denison requests me to state that, in his rejoinder of April 20, 1854, as then published, he demurred absolutely to this letter, in respect both of matter and manner of teaching.

Page 411, line 28, *for* '1818' *read* '1828.'
,, ,, ,, 33, ,, 'are' *read* 'care.'
,, 414, *for* 'Dungannon' *read* 'Duncannon.'
,, 416, in notis, *for* 'brother' *read* 'no relation.'
,, 421, lines 10 and 14, *for* 'D.C.L.' *read* 'LL.D.'
,, ,, in notis, line 3, *for* 'utque precepta' *read* 'atque præcepta.'
,, ,, ,, ,, 7, *for* 'imbuerit' *read* 'imbueret.'
,, 451, line 7, 'I would rather be descended from an ape than a bishop.' The passage ought to be 'If I had to choose between being descended from an ape or from a man who would use his great powers of rhetoric to crush an argument, I should prefer the former.'

LIFE

OF

BISHOP WILBERFORCE.

CHAPTER I.

(1861.)

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS—ARTICLE IN 'QUARTERLY REVIEW'—DISCUSSION OF BISHOPS—ANSWER TO ADDRESSES—LETTER TO BISHOP OF LLANDAFF—RENEWED DISCUSSION—COMMITTEE APPOINTED—SYNODICAL CONDEMNATION—THE BISHOP AND THE ROUGHS—SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS—THE DIARY—WEDDING DAY—DEATH OF MRS. SARGENT—MR. GLADSTONE AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY—DEATH OF SIR JAMES GRAHAM—TOUR IN IRELAND—CONVERSATIONS—OPINION ON PROTESTANT MISSION—VISIT TO DUBLIN—THE DIARY—MISSIONARY BISHOPS—CONSECRATION OF MR. STALEY—DEATH OF THE PRINCE CONSORT—SPEECH AT READING—LETTER TO SIR C. ANDERSON ON FUNERAL OF PRINCE.

In the autumn of 1860, the now almost forgotten, but then famous book, called 'Essays and Reviews,' was published. The outcry occasioned by it, heightened, it is true, by the Colenso trouble, materially altered for a time the relations of the High and Low Church parties and also modified the hostility with which the latter party had lately regarded the Bishop.[1] It seems almost needless to state that the extreme partisans underwent no change in their opinions. But nevertheless the Low Church party generally did turn to

[1] Writing in 1862, Dr. McNeile says: 'In our conflict with infidelity he (the Bishop) is our invaluable champion.'

the Bishop as a champion against this newly developed danger. 'The Record,' in 1864, after an address delivered at Oxford on the Inspiration of Scripture, said: 'We are often painfully compelled to differ from his lordship, but our confidence has not been disappointed that, in a matter so essentially affecting the foundations of Christianity, the Bishop would be found true to the faith.'

'The Quarterly Review' of January 1861 contained an article on 'Essays and Reviews' which is now known to have been written by the Bishop; that article was so widely read that the number of 'The Quarterly' which contained it went through five editions. Before 'The Quarterly' appeared, an agitation had commenced against the book, which took the form of addresses to the Episcopate, inquiring what steps they as Bishops were going to take.

The report of the discussion which follows is somewhat remarkable from the fact that, for the first time in the record of these meetings, the Bishop of Winchester was found opposing his brother the Archbishop. The Bishop of St. David's, on this as on nearly every other occasion, at this time acted with the Bishop of Oxford.

February 1.—(Cuddesdon.) Up early for the train. Wrote sermon all the way up. Saw Gladstone. Then to meeting of Bishops; long discussion on 'Essays and Reviews.' Came down to Fulham with Bishops of London, Rochester, Carlisle. At night very much tired.

The following is taken from a report made by the Bishop, of this meeting at which both the Archbishops and seventeen Bishops were present. The Archbishop opened the discussion by reading addresses; he was followed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and others, and then by the Bishop of

Salisbury, who, with deep feeling, explained his reasons for admitting R. Williams[2] into his diocese. The Bishop of St. David's pointed out that a mere Declaration by the Bishops, unless followed by action, would be an admission 'that we had no means of repressing prolate heresy;' he strongly deprecated any discussion in Convocation. The Archbishop of Canterbury said he thought 'that the addresses had put us into a difficulty;' he thought 'that if we did not answer them it would be most injurious to us,' and he suggested answers. 1. Condemnation of doctrine. 2. Special notice of unsuitableness for clergy to have written. 3. Uncertainty of legal proceedings, especially from ambiguity, not of our formularies, but of their (the essayists') writing. 4. Mode of operation to be by clergy preaching more faithfully the Gospel.

Bishop Hampden of Hereford thought 'that this was a question between Infidelity and Christianity, and that we ought to prosecute: a question of Christianity or no Christianity.'

The Bishop of London: 'The difficulty is that we have two sets of people to consider. 1. Those likely to be injured by the book; and (2) those who are not. For the first, the only way is to let everyone who can answer them show their shallowness and further point out the great doctrines which all the essayists undervalue. For the second, that we ought to think of the effect on others.' Two of the essayists were dear friends of his. Of the essays he considered Pattison's unobjectionable, and as to Temple's he defied any man to extract anything heretical from it. Jowett's essay, he said, could only be answered by bringing out the doctrines which he neglects. He expressed himself strongly in favour of a Declaration of doctrine, in

[2] One of the writers.

which he was supported by the Archbishop. The Bishop of Oxford was against a Declaration of doctrine, because by such action Bishops would originate, and secondly because it would be condemning the essayists unheard. The Bishop of Winchester supported him, and, replying to the Archbishop, who had said 'that the addresses did not ask what we were going to do, but what our opinions are,' said: 'The addresses must mean what are you going to do, how are we to stop after a declaration? our present position is very difficult, it would then be worse—there are difficulties on both sides—inclined to take legal advice. Agreed with the Bishop of Oxford.'

The Bishop of London said that the Bishops of St. David's and Manchester, both believing that the case, if tried, would fail, supported the Bishop of Oxford. He did not agree with the argument that it was a reflection on the Church of England that her Articles did not meet every form of evil. He thought that false doctrine must be endured.

The result of this meeting is to be found in the following extract:—

February 2.—(Fulham.) At the entreaty of Bishops, drew up an answer to addresses, which they all adopted, and we sent it out. Then to London, and I set to work on sermon for to-morrow, and down to Oxford by 3 train. Dined at Oriel Gaudy; small party; no college enthusiasm; quite understand its decline. Provost good, but far too cold for the post.

As the Bishop's composition, and on account of its intrinsic importance, the answer to the addresses is inserted:—

Lambeth, February 12, 1861.

Reverend Sir,—I have taken the opportunity of meeting many of my Episcopal brethren in London to lay your

address before them. They unanimously agree with me in expressing the pain it has given them that any clergyman of our Church should have published such opinions as those concerning which you have addressed us. We cannot understand how these opinions can be held consistently with an honest subscription to the formularies of our Church, with many of the fundamental doctrines of which they appear to us essentially at variance.

Whether the language in which these views are expressed is such as to make their publication an act which could be visited in the Ecclesiastical Courts, or to justify the Synodical condemnation of the book which contains them, is still under our gravest consideration. But our main hope is our reliance on the blessing of God, in the continued and increasing earnestness with which we trust that we and the clergy of our several dioceses may be enabled to teach and preach that good deposit of sound doctrine which our Church teaches in its fulness, and which we pray that she may, through God's grace, ever set forth as the uncorrupted Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. I remain, reverend Sir, your faithful servant,

J. B. CANTUAR.

The Rev. H. B. Williams.

I am authorised to append the following names:

C. T. Ebor.
A. C. London.
T. M. Durham.
C. R. Winton.
H. Exeter.
C. Peterborough.
C. St. David's.
A. T. Chichester.
J. Lichfield.
S. Oxon.
T. Ely.
T. V. St. Asaph.
J. P. Manchester.
R. D. Hereford.
J. Chester.
A. Llandaff.
R. J. Bath and Wells.
J. Lincoln.
C. Gloucester and Bristol.
W. Sarum.
R. Ripon.
J. T. Norwich.
J. C. Bangor.
J. Rochester.
S. Carlisle.

A second meeting of the Bishops took place on March 13, when the question was raised as to whether

the Bishops collectively should prosecute the writers, or whether such prosecution should be left to individual Bishops. On being put to the vote, the latter course was decided on by a majority of one. In the course of the debate several of the Bishops who voted in the majority offered to share the expense which would fall upon the Bishop of Salisbury. He, however, declined any such assistance.

The Bishop of Oxford next proposed that the Bishops should take synodical action against the book. This question, on being put to the vote, was carried: nine voting for, five against.

The answer to the addresses[3] was considered by a high authority, Vice-Chancellor Wood, afterwards Lord Hatherley, to be a sentence of censure and condemnation, and that the sentence must be regarded as published. In the meantime the Bishop of Salisbury began proceedings against Mr. Rowland Williams, and this step prevented the Bishops for a time from obtaining a synodical condemnation of the book, owing to the apprehension that, if the book were condemned, Mr. Rowland Williams's essay could not be passed over, and therefore the Bishops would seem to be interfering with a matter before the Courts; and also because the Archbishop and Bishop of London sat as judges on the Judicial Committee. The following letter to the Bishop of Llandaff will show how the Bishop treated the objection of apparent interference with judicial proceedings. He thought that the Bishops ought to help to *define* the law which the lawyers would have to *administer*.[4]

[3] V. *sup.* p. 4.

[4] It is worthy of remark that the Lord Chancellor, Westbury, when delivering the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1864 in the appeal cases of the Bishop of Salisbury *v.* Williams and Fendall *v.* Wilson, declared that their judgment was not on the book, but on the men, thus supporting the line

Bishop of Oxford to Bishop of Llandaff.

July 3, 1861.

My dear Bishop,—Will you let me suggest to you for your consideration the reasons which bring me to an opposite conviction? I say nothing of the reasons which make me so earnest for some synodical act, because on them we are, I believe, already agreed, especially on the duty of the Church by some *public* and *official* act (if permitted), clearing herself from complicity with those who, teaching in her name, teach men to give up God's Word, Creation, Redemption, and the Work of God the Holy Ghost.

But, agreeing in this, you are disposed to think that, the Bishop of Salisbury having begun proceedings against Rowland Williams, we are precluded from action in Synod. To this I say:—

1. We are not proposing in Synod to act against the *men* but to condemn the book.

2. If R. W. is convicted *one man only* is touched. The Church should condemn *the book.*

3. R. W. cannot be convicted unless it is proved that he personally is responsible for teaching against our formularies; and as that proceeding is highly penal, the accused ought to have, and will have, every possible loophole afforded him for escape.

The question whether the *book* is one which the Church ought to condemn is quite a different question from whether one particular writer in it has made himself responsibly liable to extreme criminal proceedings by his share in it. Thus *e.g.* the condemnation of the book ought to depend on its character *as a whole.* The issue of criminal proceedings against one writer must turn *absolutely* on his own writing,

the Bishop took in the letter to the Bishop of Llandaff. He said that 'the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had neither the power nor the duty to pronounce any opinion on the character, effect, or tendency of the publication known by the name of *Essays and Reviews.* If therefore the book, or these two Essays, or either of them as a whole, be of a mischievous or baneful tendency, as weakening the foundations of Christian belief, and likely to cause many to offend, they will still retain that character, and be liable to that condemnation, notwithstanding this our judgment.'

and on his having so written it as to express his own opinion. Again, if the Court condemns R. W., our having condemned the book will merely be proof of our due official guardianship of the faith having been vigilantly exercised: if the Court determines that R. W. is not liable to the extreme penalty of the law, the Church will be saved the intolerable scandal of such a book being justified, and the just distinction between the condemnation of the writing and the punishment of the writer will be preserved. Again, the matter having been brought by the Lower House before us, the Guardians of the Faith, it seems to me essential that at *some* time we should synodically clear our Church from tolerating such heresy in our ordained teachers. But if this is to be done at all, *this* seems to me the *best* time. For, if R. W. is condemned, there would be a certain appearance of trampling on the fallen, in a synodical condemnation; and if he were acquitted, it would certainly be held to be an appeal from the Court of Law to the Synod. I do not say that these reasons would prevent my acting hereafter if we could not act now, but I think they are strong reasons for preferring present to future action. Then, again, I think it of great moment for the Synod that we should get clear of this question by present action, and not have it hang on for another session, all which is commended to your better judgment. I am ever, my dear Bishop, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The following remarkable entry in the Bishop's diary occurs in 1862.

January 28.—After luncheon, rode with Carlyle to Cheriton on the way to the Beacon. Carlyle against the essayists on dishonesty ground and atheistic.

In 1864 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered its judgment in the two cases[5] arising out of the book, acquitting both the defendants. It is important here to bear in mind, in considering the

[5] Bishop of Salisbury *v.* Williams, and Fendall *v.* Wilson.

subsequent action of the Bishops on this question, that according to the Ecclesiastical law the proceedings against Messrs. Williams and Wilson were criminal. Of this fact the Judicial Committee availed themselves, opening to the accused every technical door of escape. On April 20, the Bishop, in the Upper House of Convocation, moved the following resolution :

'That this House, having received, on June 21, 1861, from the Lower House, their resolution of June 2, 1861, that in its opinion there are sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment on the "Essays and Reviews;" that, having on July 9, 1861, adjourned the consideration of the subject pending the course of the then existing suit; and that suit being now concluded—Resolved, that this House resume the consideration of the subject, and that a committee of this House be appointed, first to consider the communications made on this subject by the Lower House; secondly, to consider the book referred to in such communications; and thirdly, to report thereon to the House.'

The Bishop was enabled to renew the subject by a *gravamen* which had been sent up by the Lower House, signed by forty of its members, amongst whom were three Deans and twelve Archdeacons. Although the Bishop of St. David's had voted with the majority in 1861 in favour of a synodical condemnation, yet he now opposed the Bishop's resolution on the ground that, as the judgment had pronounced an opinion on the book, if they, the Bishops, were now to pronounce a contrary opinion it would do no good, but would unsettle men's minds, and that it would be a Declaration of Faith. The Bishop, in replying to him as his 'dear and honoured brother,' pointed out that, if the resolution he proposed asked the House in any way to reverse

the sentence of the Privy Council, he agreed; but, so far from reversing the judgment, a synodical condemnation, if recommended by the Committee, would run *pari passu* with it, because the judgment was limited to two points; whereas, if the Committee, not being limited in its inquiry, condemned the book, it might agree with the Judicial Committee on the two points. On being put to the vote the numbers were even, and the Archbishop gave his casting-vote in favour of appointing a Committee. The Bishop then moved that the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Canterbury be the Committee. This having been carried, the House adjourned till June 21, on which day the Bishop brought up the report of the Committee. The report was very long, and commenced by saying: 'The Committee, having examined the book referred to them by the House, and the communication relating thereunto made by the Lower to the Upper House, and being of opinion that the Synod cannot avoid pronouncing upon the doctrinal character of such a work, written in great part by clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland, when thus brought under its notice, report—That the book contains false and dangerous statements, and reasonings at variance with the Church of England and deserving the condemnation of the Synod. The grounds of their judgment are, &c. &c. On all which grounds your committee report that this book does, in their judgment, merit the condemnation of this Synod.'

When the report was carried, the condemnation was a foregone conclusion; it was opposed by the Bishop of London in a long speech, but was agreed to, with only two dissentients, the Bishops of London and Lincoln.

The decision thus arrived at, besides its moral value as a vindication of Divine Truth, had some im-

portant bearings. For the first time since 1711 the Church of England had pronounced synodically upon a question of Doctrine. The silence of 150 years had been broken, and she had again asserted her position as having authority in controversies of faith. With regard to Bishop Wilberforce the firmness and skill which he had manifested throughout these discussions may be said to have finally established his supremacy as a leader both in Convocation and in the Church at large.

The following incident, illustrative of the Bishop's tact and courage, occurred during the annual Confirmation tour in the spring of this year; it is communicated to the author by a clergyman who was present, and is given in his own words. He heads it:—

Bishop Wilberforce and the Roughs of —— ——.

A Cemetery was to be opened and the Church portion consecrated. Many of us, Clergy of the neighbourhood, met the Bishop at the Squire's house, and, having robed, proceeded with his Lordship through the park into the lane which leads along the outskirts of the town to the Cemetery. It was at this point that we found a crowd of persons apparently disposed for a disturbance and to obstruct our way. It was a critical moment; but with wonderful presence of mind the Bishop saw the thing to do, and did it. He strode out from the midst of us, and, taking off his college cap, spoke thus to the mob:—'Gentlemen of ——, the superintendent of police called on me last night, and, stating that he thought our proceedings of to-day might possibly be interrupted and our procession attacked, asked me if he had better not provide an extra number of constables for the occasion. I replied, "I am much obliged, Mr. Superintendent, for

your kind consideration, but I feel sure that I shall find on my road to the ground very many of the townspeople who will be ready to act for me, if necessary, as my body-guard, and preserve the peace." I see, gentlemen (!), I was not mistaken, and accordingly it is with every confidence that I now commend myself and this my following to your guidance and respect.' Never was party of roughs more thoroughly surprised into good behaviour, or wolves converted as suddenly into lambs—at least, for one day.

March 14.—After breakfast, to Ecclesiastical Commission. Fight about St. Lawrence—Reading, and carried it. The meeting of Convocation. Debate on 'Essays and Reviews.' Then to House of Lords on Lord Lyttelton's motion. Dined at the Athenæum, very much tired. Bishop of Salisbury with me.

Lord Lyttelton's motion mentioned in this extract from the diary was for the second reading of a Bill providing for the subdivision of dioceses. The Bishop took part in the debate, and that part of his speech which deals with the question of Suffragan Bishops is given to show his views on that subject.

He felt that some extension of the episcopate in England was a desirable object and essential to the thorough working of the Church of England system, especially in certain counties where great masses of the population were gathered together without any provision for their receiving the offices of the Church. He was of opinion that, with proper checks and provisions, such a limited increase of the episcopate was much to be desired.

Referring to the Act of Henry VIII., by which the Crown, on certain representations made by a Bishop, could appoint a Suffragan, the Bishop said: 'The Act contemplated a division of powers that the

Church had never admitted. The Suffragans were Bishops without sees. They came to the Bishops of dioceses as coadjutors. Suppose a Bishop died, the Suffragan was in a most anomalous position. He could only continue to exercise his functions with the consent of the new Bishop, and it might happen that he might feel bound to object to the acts of a new Bishop. Such a state of things was not desirable, and therefore it would be well to give further consideration to the subject before legislating upon it.'

In the course of the debate the Bishop of London had suggested the fusion of the office of Dean and Suffragan; to this the Bishop said that the House was not at present prepared to deal with the question of fusion. That matter might be dealt with in the event of Suffragans being appointed with succession, &c. He held succession to be an essential part of the Church's system, and that to vary that rule would be to weaken the system.[6]

January 18.—Cuddesdon. Morning church. After breakfast wrote a little. Then discussion on Banbury Mission, and 'Essays and Reviews.' Walked with Liddon, Lawrell, Archdeacon Randall to Garsington. Then wrote. The Andersons came. Evening backgammon. The new 'Quarterly' came. Henry (Pyé) reading it with no suspicion and quoting bits to me.[7]

January 25.—Cuddesdon. I at church. Then the An-

[6] The second reading was carried by four votes.

On April 18, Lord Lyttelton moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, which was agreed to.

Select Committee reported on June 25.

On July 2 the House by a large majority declined to go into Committee on the Bill, and in consequence of this decision, Lord Lyttelton, on July 8, announced his intention of not proceeding with the measure, being convinced of the hopelessness of an independent Peer attempting to legislate on these Church questions with any hope of success.

[7] This number of the 'Quarterly' contained the article on 'Essays and Reviews' written by the Bishop.

dersons, Prevost, and Woodford off. I at work on sermon. Very low all day. One hundred guineas came for Review. Reginald and I rode to Water Perry. At night backgammon with him.

January 26.—Very low, partly from loneliness, partly unable to grapple with sermon. Hard at work at it all day. A ride on Shotover. Finished sermon at night.

January 27.—In to Oxford for All Saints' service. Greatly cheered by seeing my Ernest there. Preached with interest to full church. Afternoon preached University sermon at St. Mary's; very full and attentive. Cathedral after. Saw both my dears—Bas. not well. And out to Cuddesdon.

February 13.—Morning at work on sermon; then to Chapel Royal. Bishop of London preached *well* on 'Sin.' Walked to and fro with the Gladstones. Again at work and down to Oxford. Preached St. Mary's. Darkish. But vast and very attentive congregation. To Warden of All [Souls]. Saw Ernest, and out to Cuddesdon with Kempe and Archdeacon Randall.

February 14.—Poorly this morning. Cold, &c. The Ordination candidates came. I addressed them twice. At night with much suffering. Dearest Bas. rode over. Confirmed at Haseley in suffering. Bad night.

February 15.—In bed all day. Bronchitis. A vast number of letters to send to Banbury altering all mission arrangements.

February 17.—(Still in bed.) Read service and Carter's most striking sermons. I hope, with profit. Cogan came and examined me closely; still inflammation in large bronchial tube. I got up. Basil and Ernest walked over, and Hoare; all pleasant. Dined at their luncheon, and then they went back. I read the afternoon service, &c. Wrote a little.

February 19.—Better. Acland kindly came over, hearing the cancer on tongue story. Wrote a good deal. To Wheatley Confirmation, feeling very weak. But earnest, and, D. G., carried through. Back and read and wrote. Read good deal of Wolfe; a hearty earnestness of religion outweighing his oddity.

February 21.—Early Communion. My cold heavy and un-

comfortable, but got to Addesbury to Confirmation. A nice Confirmation. Then on after letters to Bloxham. Confirmation and pleasant greeting with clergy. Then a capital sermon from Woodford on *Redeeming the time*: buying it back. A terrific hurricane at night. Drove on to Banbury. Heard dear Majendie; and, well tired, to bed.

February 22.—Early Communion. Then Confirmation for Banbury in parish church. Then drove to ——, nice Confirmation there. Back to Banbury and poorly, and did not go out at night, but lettered.

February 23.—Very wet. To Wroxton for Confirmation, afterwards luncheon at the Abbey. Then back to Banbury. With candidates for orders; and at night gave charge on first prayer. Woodford preached at night excellently on 'What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?'

February 24.—Morning church. Ordination. Woodford preached excellently on 'Lo, I am with you always.' Afternoon prepared sermon for evening. A vast congregation. But, D. G., got through.

February 25.—Off after church (at which fierce toothache) for ——, where a pleasant Confirmation, and baptised Rendall's child. Then Chipping Norton Confirmation. To London.

March 25.—Off by 7 for Windsor. Breakfast at the Dean's, and in to the Chapel. The funeral.[8] The service most solemn and beautiful. So fade the flowers of earth. The Prince greatly affected.

April 15.—Cuddesdon. Letters, &c., and then rode to Oxford and drove with Swinny to Cumnor, preached, &c. Then by rail to Taplow, and with Duchesses of Sutherland and Argyll and Lady Blantyre to Cliveden. Nice Confirmation at Hedsor and pleasant evening. Read Neale's hymn to them.

April 16.—Morning fine. The two Duchesses took me to the station: a good deal of conversation. To London. Married M. Chester and P. Fitzgerald at St. James's. About, and letters, and down to Danny, where most kindly welcomed.

April 17.—Up and walked to Down before breakfast. Rode with H. and M. Campion by Ditchling Beacon to Brighton. A charming ride, but the atmosphere rather thick

[8] The Duchess of Kent.

with N.E. wind. A good committee meeting (for the rebuilding of Chichester spire), Duke of Richmond in chair. Then by 1.30 P.M. to London, and found account of my Bas. being ill. Full of him. At University Assurance and Grillion's.

April 30.—Riseholme. Off at 7.25. Rode with Sir C. Anderson to Lincoln station. Rail to Southwell, where breakfast at Archdeacon Wilkins'. All very hearty. Fine service. I preached afternoon in nave: vast congregation. Derby man seizing hand as I came out of pulpit. Home by train to Riseholme, a few letters.

The man referred to in the above entry came to Archdeacon Wilkins before the service, and said he wished to speak to the Bishop. The Archdeacon assured the man that such a thing was impossible, and that he could not manage it. Nothing daunted, the man took his seat on the steps of the pulpit, and as the Bishop came down, he got up, seized the Bishop's hand, and, after thanking him for the sermon, said: 'Now, my Lord, I am the representative of 2,000 working men at Derby, and I am deputed by them to ask your Lordship to come and preach to us.' The Bishop: 'What do you want me to preach to you about?' The answer was, 'Religion, my Lord.' The Bishop then assured him that he would try to comply with this request, and would write and let him know.[9]

May 2.—London. Up and wrote sermon. Breakfast, Gladstone's; Acton, Lyttelton, Sir W. James, Lacaita, &c. Home, and at sermon till Convocation Committee at 2 on missions, till House. Heard of Archbishop's illness with great sadness. Dined Athenæum and wrote a few letters. Still very very sad about Basil. Miserere Domine.

May 5.—Chapel All Souls. My Ernest with me three times. May God bless him for his affection. Confirmation at Bampton poor; wretched attendance. Finished sermon

[9] See p. 33.

and preached it with much interest; a great congregation, most attentive. Then to St. Giles's Confirmation, a nice one. And then to Cuddesdon, where E—, Reg., Bas., Mrs. Sargent better, D. G.

May 19.—Up early. Prepared sermon for Chapel Royal and preached it with interest. Afternoon prepared evening sermon. Preached it, thank God, with comfort, and longing prayers for conversion of some. With dear Trench after. In great anxiety all these days about Mrs. Sargent.

May 20.—Off for Wolverton. At Tring the Custs. Found I had mistaken the subject of sermon and changed it. Then stone-laying. Address, and on to Manchester.

June 2.—Cambridge. Up early to chapel. Then home and at sermon. At 11, chapel, and —— preached painfully. Then wrote till 2. Brookfield preached an interesting sermon on St. Paul's rapture. I wrote till dinner in Hall at 4, at which near the Prince, and talk. Then preached to a great congregation. All day in thought with beloved Mrs. Sargent.

The Bishop was summoned home on June 3 by a telegram informing him that Mrs. Sargent, who had been in failing health for some time, was much worse. From that day to July 6th, when the end came, the Bishop was, with but rare absences, at Cuddesdon. June 11, his wedding-day, has this touching entry:

My wedding-day. Ah! how changed, O my God, from the great feast of the year! Talking with beloved Mrs. Sargent of the wedding—as a dream when one awaketh. Oh, if I had her, but to show her how much happier I could make her than with all my love I did.

On June 20 the Bishop was in London for Convocation. The next day the diary records:

Breakfast and a full discussion. Then Convocation on Missionary Bishops. Bishop of Gloucester *very* disagreeable. Smoothed at last, and hardly. Then Committee on Lord Lyttelton's Bill. Then to House of Lords. Petitions, &c. Off by 6.30 train and home. Dearest Mrs. Sargent much the same as before: she full of the Heavenly Light.

July 6.—Cuddesdon. With dearest Mrs. Sargent before breakfast: she held my hand lovingly. Then off for Reading Church stone-laying. Then luncheon in tent: all going well. To Oxford, and rode out. Henry and Ernest[1] riding with me. Near the College met Reginald, who pointed out to us the tolling bell. At 6.30 the beloved one had literally *ceased* to breathe—no struggle, no strife. One of her last words was, 'There is a glad sound of victory in Heaven.' All together all the evening.

The diary of the 31st has the following record of the Bishop's first return to Cuddesdon after Mrs. Sargent's death:—

July 31.—Windsor. Early breakfast and to London. Preached at Westminster. Then to the University Assurance. Dined at the Athenæum, and then to Cuddesdon—how solemn and awful in its loneliness!

A friend, who knew Mrs. Sargent well, writes to the Bishop; he says:—

May our good God comfort and sustain you and all those who have so long looked to her as a stay and guide and example! Never was anyone who seemed more lent to earth from Heaven or whose words and looks and ways more carried one's thoughts thither. That exquisite elegance and perfection of unselfishness are never to be forgotten. It is indeed a privilege to have been permitted to know her and to be able to remember her.

How deeply the Bishop felt Mrs. Sargent's loss is best described in his own language:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Lavington House, July 10, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—You will probably have heard of the great sorrow which has come upon us in the loss of our dearest Mrs. Sargent. She was still so young, so entirely

[1] Brother and Son.

sympathising, so able to enter into everything—of heart, of mind, of intellect, of soul—that the contrast I look forward to in my lonely house is what could scarcely be believed. But she is at rest, and the last weeks have been a long and sore struggle.

We lay her remains to-morrow by her husband's and her children's, moving once again that sacred ground, of which the stirring is as if men ploughed into my heart. But forgive me all this egotism. I wanted to talk to you about Oxford; is it too late? . . . If it is not too late, when may I see you? I am most truly yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson,

Cuddesdon, July 7, 1861.

My dearest Anderson,—Our watching by that beloved one is over, and she is at rest. One of her last collected utterances was, 'There is a blessed sound of victory in Heaven,' and it has been fulfilled to-day. Her only fear was that her patience should fail, and she always asked for prayer against this, and it was answered abundantly, for no word or gesture of impatience ever passed from her, though she said to me, 'Never did weary child more long to fall asleep on its mother's knee than I do for my rest, when it is God's will to give it to me.' I was called to her early on Thursday, before 5. A great change had taken place. Soon after this her restlessness passed away. Later she seemed generally asleep, but roused at my voice, and until Friday, joined mentally, and with clasped hands, in prayer; and yesterday evening, without a sigh or a struggle, the breath which had been drawn at longer and longer intervals, ceased altogether, and she had entered on her rest. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

It will be remembered that for four years after 1861 Mr. Gladstone continued to sit for the University of Oxford; the question of his retirement, however, was, it appears, already mooted, and the letters which advert to this matter touch incidentally on subjects of

a very different character, but deeply affecting both the Bishop and his correspondent, the fatal illness of Lord Herbert of Lea and the death of Sir James Graham.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, April 8, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—I have to-day seen the Rector of Exeter, and he asked me to say to you that, though he has sent you the petition against paper-voting to present, he does *not* wish you to say a word upon it, being more and more persuaded that any opposition to that Bill from you would injure you greatly, and caring more for keeping your seat and throwing out the Bill: so far the Rector. As I know not your mind, nor whether you wish for opinions, I give none on the great question of your seat. Only let me say: 1. That if I can be of any use, you know how freely you may command me; 2. That I can hardly bear the thought of the degradation to us of your ceasing to be our member. I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

11 Downing Street, July 11, 1861.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—On the question of the seat, obliged as I am to write in haste, I cannot do better than send you a copy of a letter which I have just addressed to the Rector of Exeter.[2]

[2] *The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Rector of Exeter College.*

11 Downing Street, July 11, 1861.

My dear Rector of Exeter,—If I have apparently neglected to answer your most kind letters it has been from great anxiety to advance to a stage, before replying, at which my reply might be worth your having.

I have never forgotten the ties which bind me to my kind and generous supporters in the University, and no prospect elsewhere could induce me to quit them, unless I could think that at a juncture like this they might, with every prospect of success, support a candidate who would fill my place to their full and general satisfac ion.

To-morrow Palmer's prospects are to be considered. I think, so far as my personal feelings are concerned, that they may not be good enough to justify my taking the South Lancashire seat.

We feel very deeply with you under the laceration of spirit which Mrs. Sargent's death must have brought upon you. However bright her lot may be, you, with your immense labours, and the cravings of your mind and heart, must sorely indeed feel the privation, only we trust that in this also your Master will be enough for you.

There are many sad things around us (while in our home, thank God, all is bright). I look upon Herbert's case with the deepest gloom. It is my painful fear that his life is ebbing, that the right and sufficient means have not been and are not taken, that the necessity for husbanding resources is overpowering, and the stock now very narrow. Ever, but in haste, yours affectionately,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Bishop Thorpe Palace, October 29, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—I cannot help expressing to you my deep sorrow at the death of Sir James Graham. I had always clung to the hope that he had taken too gloomy a view of his own symptoms, and that he might be spared to us yet awhile to keep up the tradition of those great men of that generation which is passing so speedily away. Then it seems to leave

Recent events have made it requisite to consider carefully Mr. Palmer's position. He writes to his brother by this post on the subject, and we are both alike sensible that no time is to be lost.

I make no great demand on your power of belief when I assure you that it has not been any selfish motive which induced me to open, in the second year of a Parliament, or rather to allow to be opened, the idea of my quitting the seat to which I had been elected. It will be very pleasant to me should the balance of public considerations, when we have ascertained it (I trust to-morrow or next day) to the best of our power, admit of my retaining my position. To quit Oxford under any circumstances would be to me a most sad, even if it ever become a prudent, and even a necessary measure. Believe me, with great regard, sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE

you so bare, and I know how much, from your long partnership in office and in opposition with him, you will feel it.

I have heard to-day from Woodard that you offer to support his great movement at Oxford on the 19th, 20th, or 21st of November. I *hope* you can give him the 22nd. On your two first days I could not be in Oxford, and the 21st has long been fixed for a great book-hawking meeting there. I should be so glad to see you. Believe me to be affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, October 31, 1861.

My dear Bishop,—I heartily thank you for your sympathising words and your estimate of the loss of Sir James Graham. The world, which is not usually unkind, mistook him; and perhaps it was no wonder. But I much feel his removal, quite apart from the immense value which I attached to his administrative knowledge and authority. The last twelve months have taken away my three closest political associates, and I am bare indeed; and yet, apart from the personal sense of loss, those events are not wholly unwelcome which remind me that my own public life is now in its thirtieth year, and ought not to last very many years longer.

I am very glad we are to meet at Chatsworth.

As to Mr. Woodard's meeting, I am anything but a volunteer; he pressed it *à outrance.* I told him I would write to you; and I can agree for either a later hour on the 21st, or the early hour of 11 on the 22nd, as may suit you best. I remain, affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

July 9.—Off by 9.30 train for London. To Convocation. Heart sunk at low tone about 'Essays,' when the Faith at stake. Clear that Bishop of Salisbury had better have waited till Convocation had spoken. Dined with him at Athenæum and went to see Herbert. Noble and simple.

July 25.—Morning wrote. Breakfast Gladstone, Lacaita, M. Milnes, &c. Much talk about Peel. Gladstone said his

temper was *really* bad, morose, sullen, but repressed wonderfully. Very bad account of Lord Herbert. To Ecclesiastical Commission. S. P. G. House of Lords.

July 29.—Up early. Read Campbell on Atonement. Off by train at 10 for London, and on to Windsor, laying of first stone of schools. Then consecrated Duchess of Kent's mausoleum; and dined at Dean of Windsor's.

August 2.—(Radley.) Up early to Communion. Many letters. Swinny helping. *Good* opening sermon in his best style from Woodford on Scripture. M'Caul good, and pleasing discussion. Thorold preached a good sermon. Read Macaulay and sermon at night.

August 3.—Up early to prepare sermon. Preached with interest. Then off for Oxford, train broken down at Twyford. Lord Herbert dead alas! alas! what a breach. O Sin, O Death——.

August 4.—(Bangor.) Prepared sermon, and read a little. Morning service at Cathedral, and I got the Bishop to preach himself. He preached a good, plain, earnest, practical sermon with no great power. A happy Communion followed. Afternoon he walked, and I went in his carriage to Beaumaris where I preached for S. P. G. to a full and very attentive congregation. Rain came on. Home and with the Bishop's family; he very pleasing.

August 8.—Went to South Stack—a very striking place; the sea grand, and the sea-birds so wonderfully tame. Back and crossed; wind high, but little motion from length of ship; sailed 2.25, and soon after 6 at Kingston. To Dublin, where late; Morrisons, Dr. Todd, Lady Downe, Stephens, and Bagot here.

On August 8 the Bishop left England for a tour in Ireland; of this tour the diary preserves some interesting records:—

August 11.—Mount Stewart. Up betimes. Prepared sermon and preached in morning at Newtownards. A good and attentive congregation. A Scotch look about all. No clerk. Went on to Clandeboye, where Dufferin, Lady Dufferin, and Emerson Tennant were. Yesterday and to-day

much talk with Londonderry. Preached in afternoon in Lady Londonderry's chapel, on Gehazi. Talk with Mr. ——; he said 'that the Orangemen used to be loyal, but having admitted Presbyterians amongst them, the bitter, levelling spirit of Presbyterianism has spread amongst them, and they are now all disloyal. Lord Dufferin assents as to their feelings, but says they have so strong a conviction that they can only stand against Papists by English alliance that they will always adhere readily to it. He says the Presbyterians get their best men to such a place as Belfast—McCosh, Cooke, &c.—and that the Church is very poorly represented. A Bishop at once able, educated, and religious, might do anything—nowhere power of preaching would go further. The people so intelligent, and yet impressible. His own pastor at Bangor good and kind amongst the poor, but so weak—a Binney and a blue-nose—strange standard of Churchmanship. Good Lord Roden always at war with his clergyman, has fitted up a chapel, and preaches himself; spoke of giving up his pulpit to someone. Bishop of Derry very unpopular with all classes; strange to say, he is suspected of leaning to Roman doctrine; really has wished to get favour with Government. Such is the feeling of these Presbyterians as to painted glass that a memorial window being put up to the late Bishop Mant at Downpatrick, the Orangemen brought out a piece of ordnance and shivered it with shots. Mr. ——, the Archbishop's precentor, tells me that the distribution of morals between the different sects is curious. Amongst the Romanists no truth or honesty, comparatively little unchastity and drunkenness; he attributes this to (1) the lower feeding of the Papists; and he says that just as their food has improved, these sins have increased; (2) to early marriages, and the priests really keeping bad women to a great degree out of the country parishes.

The Primate thinks that the Church is gaining both on Papists and Presbyterians.

August 26.—An interesting conversation with Dr. Todd. He sad about state and prospects of Irish Church. Some few young men trained at Trinity College in better principles, but these mostly went to England; they could not bear the Irish régime; had no encouragement anywhere. The Dublin

Low Church Clergy more exclusive than they were; not one would let him preach for them (so said also Woodward). When the present Provost of Trinity College was appointed, Dr. Todd had been for years (I think 30) preacher. He did not appoint him, but passed him over for years. Utter want of reverence in the Church Mission Schools and tone. So he had been obliged to keep aloof. (This to a great degree true everywhere, from the controversial tone.) If anything happened to the Primate (who not a Churchman, however, but a mere gentleman, and under influences—had passed the Bishopric Suspension Bill, given up St. Columba's, &c., yet held things together), and a bad one appointed, all over seemingly with Church. 'I see no hope, unless they will appoint you; not one of our Bishops fit' (so Dean of Limerick). Knox very foolish, without learning, piety, judgment, conduct, or sense, appointed by a job, that his uncle should resign Limerick, &c. N.B.—The Primate justifies the Irish Bishops suspension, by saying a tax would make them poor, and they would sell their livings. Todd replied, 'If principle will not hinder, wealth won't. The Bishop of Derry, the richest see, sells all his. Derry, perhaps, the best, but a weak, unread man.' Dean of Limerick, of Knox: 'He used, when made to preach by his uncle, to get me to write his sermon, and could not deliver it. The Bishop used to say, "Why do you always blow your nose in the pathetic part?" Higgins, a most appropriative mind, would take what another had just said, and repeat it ostentatiously as his own, even to the sayer.' Dr. Todd: '*Ossory*, the most indolent man I ever knew; used to make me teach his pupils when in college; very strong solifidian views. *Cork*, a man of ability; strong leaning to Arian or semi-Arian—kept him long from Priests' Orders—a mere Whatelyian; but a strong will, and overbearing; would be very unpopular very soon—is so now at Cork. *Limerick*, clever—quite unread—no taste for Episcopate; was scarcely persuaded to be made a Bishop. His living—the best in Ireland—was wanted; and so he was quite pressed into accepting. Not a devout man at all. *Kilmore*, gentle and pleasing, not learned, and no backbone to lead. *Meath*, nothing but a popular preacher, now worn out. *Cashel*, very fond of money,

and simply a low party man. A really good Primate might soon get support. Kilmore, Derry, Down would all follow him, and very likely Cork might see it was the only chance for the Church Establishment, and then he would join.' Todd evidently very low about the whole matter. Alas! Alas!

W. de Vere said there *were* devout and holy priests. He admitted the priests *dare* not press the Ribbon question in Confession. The people would say it is *not* a sin, and the priests would have to yield.

August 28.—Talk yesterday with Henry's[3] agent, Mr. Cunningham, an intelligent and—for a Roman—a fair man. He spoke highly of Mr. D'Arcy. Sure his motives were good, but there were very few adult converts sincere. At the time of the famine things had got into a dreadful state—the landlords neglected their tenants, the priests thought nothing of their duties. The famine 'just caught them.' Things were much better now. At that time the people were greatly alienated from their priests by their neglect; they were touched with the liberality and kindness of the Protestants; they had no schools, and so sent their children to the Protestant schools. He admitted that very many of those trained in the schools were genuine converts. Now the national schools supplied what the people wanted, and they would not send their children from them to the 'Jumper'[4] schools except for what they could get by doing so. He found great fault with McHale; he neglected all his spiritual duties, *pretended* to be a great patriot, was not so really, but sought political power for himself. The clergy he sent were like himself; he did not look after them in spirituals; they sought to commend themselves to him by political business, &c. He encouraged Father —— in all his mad attacks on Lord Plunket. Lord Plunket had been got into his troubles by the ladies who said his lordship would be pleased if the people sent their children to the Protestant school, and then the lower people got hold of it, and pressed this on the parents, and stirred up all the mischief. I asked if the priests now really preached to the people about their souls.

[3] The Bishop's brother.

[4] Jumpers, *i.e.* those who had jumped from Romanism to Protestantism.

He said the younger did. The young curate of Kylemore, an excellent young man, full of zeal, and preaching with all his heart to the people. Not the old ones. The last St. Patrick's day one of the old sort, who was celebrating, when he came to the place for the sermon, turned round as if he was going to preach to the people. They were so surprised that they crowded up towards the altar 'to hear Father Joseph.' 'Well, now, sure it isn't Father Joseph that's going to preach to us!' So they gathered all round, and the old man saw that he was in for it, and could not escape from preaching. So he stood swinging himself backwards and forwards, and began: 'My brethren—this is St. Patrick's day—St. Patrick was a great saint. St. Patrick lived 200 years, and then he died, and may God have mercy on his soul!'—and thereupon he stopped. He said McHale had sent down a drunken priest into the next parish; no one could conceive why they had chosen such a man, and to be near the Jumpers too! The besetting sin of the priests here is drink. They are generally low fellows—McHale is a very coarse low fellow himself. The horse-whipping by the priests going out; but about a fortnight ago at Lord Plunket's the priest horse-whipped a man for telling his child to go to the Protestant school. The man only said, 'You have taken a dale of the blue mould out of me, your Riverence, by the flogging.' Cunningham said the great objection to the schools is that they will use the Authorised Version in them, which the Roman Catholics do not believe to be an accurate version of the Bible.

The Bishop notes a specimen of the sharpness of an Irish carman. He said:

The carman 'believed that all the Jumper converts were bought.' The Bishop: 'Did they try to convert others? Had they tried to convert him?' 'Yes.' 'Did that look like being bought or being convinced?' 'Bought, likely enough. People always want companions; if so much as a horse broke into an oat-field, he always wanted another beside him,' &c. &c.

On the 31st the Bishop returned to Dublin where

he was the guest of Lord Carlisle at the Vice-Regal Lodge. A large party had assembled. The diary of the day records a short conversation with Lord Carlisle:

Lord Carlisle, speaking of Whately's extreme egotism, said: 'He once said to me, "The Bishop of Cork is an excellent writer—an admirable writer. I have read sentences of his which I could not tell I had not written myself!"' He thinks Whately softened, and in consequence that he has more influence than he had.

September 1.—Sunday. Up early and prepared sermon. After breakfast, in with Lord Lieutenant to the Castle. Preached from notes on 'Lord, lift up the light,' &c.; a very attentive congregation, evidently impressed. After luncheon to St. Patrick's, and preached to a *crowd*; all most attentive.

September 3.—Letters, and to S. P. G. meeting. Luncheon with the Archbishop. He said: 'Best to be blind when young, and deaf when old.' Whiteside full of pleasant anecdote. Then saw Trinity College library and museum. *Quære*, if the birds genuine Irish. Then with Lord Lieutenant to Golden Bridge Reformatory. Miss Kirwan, Rev. Mother. Much talk. Need of separating priest's work and hers—hers the instruction and moral government; very interesting accounts of success; always succeeded if, when they left, could get them to take the pledge. The good nurse's whole heart evidently in it, and she clever and good. Then to Smithfield; wonderful examination of the men. Dined. Dr. Todd, &c., &c.

September 4.—Morning, wrote letters hard. Then to the model schools with Lord Carlisle. The performance of the boys and the singing of the girls really marvellous, and no religious feuds ever known, whilst the good lady, who from the first has friended and watches them, never knew a girl go wrong after. In the afternoon to St. Columba's with Lord Lieutenant; very nice, but small. After dinner we took leave of our most kind host.

September 5.—Off in Lord Lieutenant's carriage at a

quarter to six. Crossed, and really enjoyed it. The Irish coast died out in the finest purple and golden colours. The Isle of Man and Scotland and Wales all visible together.

At this point Lord Carlisle's diary furnishes an interesting extract[5] :—

September 1.—The Bishop preached in the Castle chapel admirably. It was on the incompleteness of everything here. I never knew him put forward more power. He preached only from notes. It was a sermon that could not leave one quite what it found one. Went to hear him again at St. Patrick's, for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and less striking. He was much better to-day, and very agreeable. He talked of the tenderness of nature he had found in Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel under cold husks. When the Bishop was much attacked about the Hampden transactions, Peel made him explain it all, then told him not to mind it. 'How I have been attacked!' with much emotion. He thinks Dr. Villiers's death was very mainly brought about by the attacks on him about Cheese. He told a characteristic speech of the Bishop of Exeter's. A lady, to whom he was showing his place at Torquay, bored him by indiscriminate praise. At last she said, 'And it is so Swiss!'—'Oh, very Swiss; only there are no mountains here, and there is no sea in Switzerland!' Dean Graves and Mr. Maturin (well known to the Bishop) dined with us.

The Rev. W. Plunket, nephew of the Bishop of Tuam, had accompanied the Bishop on his tour in Connemara. It is interesting to observe the impression made upon the Bishop's mind by missionary enterprise which was being carried on in that district. After returning to England the Bishop writes to Mr. Plunket:—

September 13, 1861.

My dear Mr. Plunket,—You are so kind as to ask me concerning my impressions from what I saw in Connemara. First, let me say in reply that I was most deeply interested

[5] Privately printed.

in what I saw; and secondly, that in much that I saw I traced, as I believe, real and effectual work done for God. With the Orphanage at Clifden I was delighted. The love which reigned in it under the influence of Mr. D'Arcy and the care of Miss Gore, and which pervaded every part of its arrangements and every countenance of its inmates, was refreshing to witness. Everywhere I thought the schools very efficient, and the young people remarkable for their intelligent acquaintance with the Word of God. The intelligence and zeal and self-devotion of the great body of the Bible teachers whom I saw in Clifden seemed to me remarkable.

If, having said this, I venture to throw in any darker lines, it is, first, from the requirements of truth, and secondly, because, as a new eye often takes in suddenly the forms of objects which to those who see them always have become too familiar to be noticed, it is possible that such remarks may not be without their practical value to you.

First, then, I noticed a tone of controversy—and aggressive controversy—running through the movement, the effect of which I should greatly fear. It is hard to retain love and reverence in hot controversy; and when boys at school are trained in it, the difficulty so greatly increases. Then with this there seemed to be, both in the boys and in the Scripture-readers, often a tone of hostility against Romanists. This, in Ireland, I should especially deprecate, the evil of the land being fierce religious hostility. *Secondly*, I thought there was a tendency to speak of Romanism as another religion from ours, instead of treating it as being God's very revelation disfigured with errors of a most grave nature. *Thirdly*, in attacking Rome I saw a tendency to attack great verities of the Church of Christ, *because* those verities, disfigured, formed special parts of the Roman system, *e.g.* 'We want no priest but Jesus,' &c. You will, I dare say, remember our conversation touching that hymn. Now, I am convinced that if we are at once to win our people from Rome, and keep them believers, we must make our stand on *our* being the Church of Christ in Ireland—that *WE* have the *authority* of the Church, the Divinely-appointed Ministry, the Word and Doctrine to be kept by it, the Sacraments to be ministered by it,

the Creeds to be taught by it. Thus assailing Rome, we maintain, and do not shake, the foundations of the City of God; we accustom our people to believe that they are in a Divinely-appointed supernatural system of spiritual influences, and we can show them the corruptions of Rome without endangering their practical belief in Revelation. I am, my dear Mr. Plunket, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

September 7.—Off at 7.30, and to Slough, where consecration of Chalvey church, and dinner after in a barn, with speeches. Then by rail to London and Lavington. Very sad; many birthday thoughts and prayers; no Basil or letter.

September 21.—(Lavington). All day about Ordination; resolved to pass all the candidates. Morning, addressed on St. Matthew's call. Evening, charge—the employment of present, calm, meditation, waiting, prayer. The ministry—its demands, dangers, supports, blessings.

September 22.—The Ordination at Lavington, and singularly solemn. Swinny's sermon excellent, and Norris's (afternoon) also. Walk on hill with a few, the day being sadly wet.

The well-known kindly and accomplished clergyman Dr. Monsell, Vicar of Egham, had asked for a sermon. The Bishop's answer, dated September 29, was written by the Rev. John Lawrell. The Bishop could not preach, on account of his many engagements, but he told Mr. Lawrell to add a postscript to the effect that he, Lawrell, would preach instead of the Bishop.

Hereupon Dr. Monsell sent a characteristic remonstrance:

That your Laurels are plenty, my Lord,
No one doubts for a moment, but then
I never till yesterday heard
That a Lawrell you used as a pen.

Your Scribe, thinking how he would sup
On his Michaelmas dainties, I ween,
Believed he was 'stuffing me up,'
And supposed me a goose that was green.

My Lord, might I say a sharp word
To that Scribe, but it ne'er shall be told
That I foolishly 'cut up' the bird
That might lay for me eggs that were gold.

What I want is your Lordship to *lay*
(Don't mistake me, I beg, for a minute)
Not eggs, but your plans for the day
When you'll come to my Church and preach in it.

We're in debt, but, my Lord, I must peach,
You're in debt, a good sermon or two,
With interest, so pray come and preach,
And we'll then be indebted to you.

As a debtor yourself, understand,
Why to gain you I make such a push,
To me one good Bishop in hand
Were worth all we now have in 'the Bush.'

To which the Bishop replied:

With your lines, Dr. Monsell, on Lawrell,
Believe me, I've no fault to find,
Nor could think for a moment of quarrel
With one so facetious and kind.

Of your muse—I say heartily—Floreat,
Your office your letter defines,
You surely must be Egg—Ham—Laureat
From your freshness, your salt, and your lines.

My sermons are not worth your verse,
At Brighton for twopence they one sell,
But if one will replenish your purse
It is yours, it is yours, Dr. Monsell.

It thus appears that Dr. Monsell's verse prevailed more than his prose. The Bishop preached for him.

The following, taken from the diary, affords additional proof of the incessant toil of the Bishop, and the way he moved from place to place :—

October 16, he started from London for Wolverton ; on the 17th he preached at Wolverton ; and on the 18th,

after preaching and school-opening, went on to Rugby. Next morning he was at Derby, where he preached to 2,000 workmen of the Midland Railway Company; 'they intensely attentive;' then back to Tamworth and out to Ingestre with Lord Shrewsbury. The 20th, 'prepared sermon for Lichfield' in the morning; in the afternoon drove to Colwich and preached to a great congregation. The 21st, the Bishop of Lichfield came to breakfast, and together they went to Kingcote, where the church was consecrated and the Bishop preached. Then off to Lichfield. The 22nd: 'Up early and finished sermon. Cathedral excellent, services striking. Then luncheon, Lord Lichfield presiding. Then at afternoon service I preached; a good deal tired with the effort; vast numbers.' The 23rd: 'After breakfast and service in Cathedral, off with Bishop of Lichfield to Derby. S.P.G. meeting. Full, &c. Again I tired.' 24th: 'Early breakfast, and in with Lord Vernon, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lichfield, &c. &c. to Derby. Preached. Large congregation and collection. On the 25th, the Bishop went to an S.P.G. meeting. The 26th: 'After breakfast, wrote a little. Then off for York. Very much tired at night. Reading and thinking about Oxford sermon.' Here he was the guest of the Archbishop at Bishopthorpe. 27th (Sunday): 'In, after breakfast, to York. Preached at Minster. Very large congregation. Largest collection they had ever had; about 78*l.* for S.P.G. Back to Bishopthorpe. Sleepy *eheu* at afternoon service; *must* eat no luncheon on Sunday. Walked with Archbishop five miles. Much talk on Convocation. Letters and read.'[6] The next day: 'Up in good time. Wrote a

[6] The Bishop appears to have forgotten one of his sermons on this day, as Canon Trevor writes: 'He preached for the S.P.G. in the morning at the Minster. In the evening you might have walked on the people's heads in my church, at a

little. With Archbishop to York for S.P.G.; a good meeting, and I helped, D. G. Walked out home with the Archbishop.' 29: 'Wrote a good deal of sermon for Oxford. Rode with the Archbishop in the afternoon.' 30: 'In to York for Wilberforce Blind, after early work at sermon; a capital meeting, and I helped again, D.G. Afterwards to luncheon at Deanery and Minster. Walked out with Lascelles and Bishop of Kilmore.' The 31st, he left Bishopthorpe, writing his Oxford sermon all day in train *viâ* Manchester to Shrewsbury.

Nov. 1.—Up early at sermon, and a grand gathering at the service. Archdeacons Moore and Allen, and a hundred clergy. Great luncheon; Lords Powis, Dungannon, &c.

Nov. 2.—Stormy night; Caradoc, &c., all mantled in snow, and looking really magnificent. Drove to Shrewsbury. Good meeting for S.P.G.; with Dr. Kennedy, and off for Oxford. Finished sermon in train. Dined and slept at Principal's of Jesus.

Nov. 3 (Sunday).—Merton service; Confirmation and Celebration early. Thence to St. Mary's; great gathering; preached with interest.* After service saw people. To Merton, and preached for choir. Dined at Principal's.

Nov. 4.—Cathedral. Then Poor Benefice Society—long business. Rode out to Cuddesdon with C. Barter; large party—Bishop of Salisbury, &c.

Nov. 5.—Rode in to Oxford. Wet. Dined at Angel Hotel, and to meeting. Good meeting. Henley spoke out. Out to Cuddesdon. Same party.

Nov. 6.—In early (Oxford), Merton service. Bishop of Salisbury preached—nicely. Meeting in Hall, and then off to London. On to Shardeloes.

Nov. 7.—Up early and prepared sermon. Then wrote

sermon for the Wilberforce Blind School, and next day he was dining with our poor Clothing Club, helping the old women, changing their plates, and telling stories till all were in a broad grin, which changed to floods of tears, when he got up and after a few touching words gave them his blessing and left.'

letters. Coleshill Church consecrated; all went well, D.G. Church nice and attendance and services. Rode after luncheon with T. T. Drake and E. Drake and Lloyd to Chalfont; saw chancel nicely restored. Back to Shardeloes.

On Friday the 8th the Bishop, after his morning letters, rode through Wycombe to Shirburn Castle[7] where he met a large party of neighbouring clergy at dinner. The Diary records—'Tired—very—at night.'

Nov. 9.—Up early. Prepared sermon and wrote letters, preached and celebrated. Rode after luncheon to Cuddesdon. Drove in to Oxford—to Warden of All Souls.

Nov. 10 (Sunday).—Up early. Preached at Carfax: morning, an old sermon on missions. Walked with Warden, &c. Prepared evening sermon (new) on Unprofitable Servant. Great congregation; and preached with interest.

Nov. 11.—Off by 8.15 for Banbury. To Great Barford and preached on Woman touching Hem of Garment. Then walked &c.; back. Many to dinner. I intensely tired.

Nov. 12.—Freshened; and in to Banbury. Preached at St. John's—'Let both grow together.' Then opened schools, and on to Wroxton; walked. Looked at books in library too long. Wrote.

Nov. 13.—Off, at 8.50, to London; very wet and cold; to 26 Pall Mall and wrote. Then to Literary Fund. University Assurance. South African Mission, and down to Aylesbury. Late to bed. Tired.

Nov. 14.—Breakfast; church 10.30. Wrote with Cust.[8] Meeting of societies. Disraeli spoke for an hour on Church; clever electioneering speech to Clergy and Church. On by rail; wrote, &c.; and by Derby to Chatsworth. Lords Carlisle, Belper, C. Cavendish; Gladstone, &c.

Nov. 15.—Morning, walked with Gladstone, Lord Carlisle, Duke, &c., to conservatory and grounds. Conservatory in great beauty. Then over House with ladies. Then rode with Gladstone, Duke, and Lord Carlisle. Oak tree on fire; and Gladstone's characteristic energy displayed in putting it out. All the sons here and pleasant.

[7] Lord Macclesfield's.

[8] Now Dean of York.

From Chatsworth the Bishop writes to Dean Trench :—

'I am here till to-morrow in this great English palace; and very cheering it is to see so good a man as the present Duke in such a post. The Gladstones, Lord Carlisle, &c., are with us; so you may guess that we are well off. *Next* week the Bishops of Chichester and Rochester, &c., come to me after a meeting in our theatre, at which Gladstone is to speak, Friday morning. Could you come down for a day or two's *leisure*? I fear at Xmas it will be work, as we have an unusually large Ordination.'

Nov. 16.—Off directly after breakfast, by Chesterfield. Very cold and snowy. Over the high ridge, and so on to Worksop and Worksop Manor, where luncheon. The Speaker came in, and we rode together by Welbeck, and then Sherwood Forest, a grand ride; but night overtook us, and snow and slippery ground. At Ollerton got into a fly and drove to Ossington. A hearty welcome from Lady C. Denison. Mr. Adams (American Minister), Lady L. Percy, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, &c.

Nov. 17 (Sunday).—Mr. —— preached a dull, orthodox discourse. Afternoon, I preached. After afternoon service walked to new chapel built by Clutton; a nice chapel. Some talk with Adams.

Nov. 19.—Thaw. With the Speaker early to Nottingham. Poor Mr. —— rather foolish, and the Speaker rather unmerciful. I preached, and all seemed interested.[9]

[9] The following, in response to an appeal of mine in 'The Guardian,' was communicated by a gentleman who was present on the occasion.—ED. :—

'The Bishop of Oxford preached at Basford near Nottingham on the re-opening of the Parish Church after a restoration. Basford is a populous, but not wealthy, manufacturing village and suburb of Nottingham, where are large factories and bleach-works. Concluding his sermon, the Bishop alluded to these in something like these words: "I observe in this place great signs of active prosperity. Your modern factory-chimneys overtop the height of the tower of this ancient House of Prayer. I am told that there still remains a debt of 500*l.* on account of the restoration. Will you, that are surrounded by such substantial evidences of material wealth as your mills and factories, tell me that you will go away to-day and leave this debt unliquidated?" (A pause.) "I don't—believe it."

'No one could have conveyed more force to the words than the Bishop did.

'The result was satisfactory, for at a lunch after the service, at which the

Nov. 20.—Off directly after breakfast and by rail to Oxford, working hard all the time at Confirmation list.

The following letters passed between the Bishop and Mr. Gladstone on the old subject of the Missionary Bishops Bill. The Bill again failed to pass into law; but the object for which it was immediately necessary, namely, the consecration of Mr. Staley, was obtained in another way. A licence was obtained for the consecration, of which the Bishop, writing to Mr. Gladstone on December 11, says: 'The licence does not commit us to any wrong principle, and I think it may be acted on next Sunday.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

July 7, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—I hope you will see to this Missionary Bishops Bill. I gather from what Lord Shaftesbury said to me, and I understand, that the real opposition is from Lord Shaftesbury and the Church Missionary Society. Now, really this is a matter which intimately concerns the whole liberties of the English Church. Why are we *not* to be at liberty to head our missions with a Bishop, merely because the Act of Uniformity requires the use of *our* service; in a rubric of which (meant for another purpose) the production of the Queen's licence is required. *All* the Bishops were agreed in this; we *want* the power at once to fill up the Zambesi Bishopric, and to consecrate for the Orange River territory. There is a keen feeling on the subject throughout the Church, and it is one of those questions of liberty for which we look anxiously for some help from your presence

Speaker (Mr. Denison) was present, an old gentleman named Herbert, an Alderman of Nottingham, got up and said that in early life he was connected with Basford, and all who heard him would know that he was a Dissenter, an Independent. But the Bishop had informed them that after the collection at church 260*l.* was still wanted. He hoped that, as the Bishop said, they would not go away and leave it unpaid. He then proposed a plan by which this could be done (himself giving liberally). 105*l.* was collected in the room, and the debt was soon after paid off.

in a Cabinet which needs some sets-off for all our high appointments being given to those who have, and because they have, rejected the principles of our Church. I am always very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

P.S.— *You* have always objected to the Jerusalem Bishoprics Bill, and on that we must be thrown if Shaftesbury triumphs.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Oxford, November 6, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—I want you to know what has been going on about the Bishopric for the Sandwich Islands. The Bishop of London, who professes to disbelieve in the power of Episcopacy without Prelacy, has consistently opposed every attempt *we* have made to extend our Missionary Episcopate, and has sought to bind our poor Church in new fetters.[1] In consequence of his opposition to the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie, we got the opinion of the law officers as to the legality of the Colonial Bishops consecrating for service out of Her Majesty's dominions. The opinion was distinct that they were under no prohibition. Then arose the question were *we*—and a second opinion was obtained by Lord Palmerston at our request—which stated that there was no legal impediment to *our* consecrating, but added (note this, please) a recommendation that we should not do so. This was signed by Bethell, Atherton, and Harding. The King of Hawaii applied to the Queen and to the Archbishop to consecrate and send out a Bishop to plant in his islands a branch of our Church. The Archbishop consented to consecrate an excellent man; Mr. Staley was selected. The Archbishop said:

[1] It is only fair to the Bishop of London to state that two months later his views upon this especial point underwent considerable modifications, for on December 11 he thus writes to the Bishop: 'I have been so much misrepresented with reference to this matter, as I think Bishop Staley will convince you, that I do not wish to mix myself up with it more than necessary; but still, if I can co-operate with you in smoothing difficulties, I shall be very glad. Since the receipt of your letter I have endeavoured to find out all I could as to the possibility of meeting your wishes.'

'You may consider yourself Bishop-designate of Honolulu.' The King was informed, and he fixed that the first act the new Bishop should do was to receive publicly his eldest son into the Church. The Bishop was further to be his preceptor. Funds were raised; the American Church consented to support two clergy under our Bishop, and everything promised a real move. The Archbishop named next Sunday for the consecration. The Bishops of Chichester, Oxford, and Labuan were to unite in the act, when the Bishop of London woke up to his old opposition, sent Travers Twiss to the Lord Chancellor, and got him to send a message to the Archbishop, stating, 1. That in giving the opinion that there was no legal hindrance, &c., he always meant, if the Queen had granted her licence. Of course this is absolutely incompatible with the recommendation that we should not use our powers, in that opinion, as he could not mean to recommend the not acting on the Queen's licence; 2. The Lord Chancellor earnestly entreated the Archbishop not to proceed till a new inquiry had been ordered by the Treasury, and a new opinion obtained.

The good old man has been so moved by this that he has postponed *sine die* the consecration. The Bishop of London presses proceeding under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, to which, of course, I simply refuse to go because it proceeds on the most vicious fallacy of assuming that the Queen has spiritual power external to her dominions and jurisdiction by it. Thus far, then, the obstructiveness of unbelief in our Church's divine power has triumphed. But the Archbishop feels that for himself, for Staley, for the donors to the fund begun under his sanction, and for the Hawaian King, he has gone too far to retract; and he tells Mr. Staley that the matter *must* not be finally dropped, and that he is about to write to Lord Russell to ask him to grant a Royal Licence for the consecration. Now, though it would be far better that we proceeded simply by our own spiritual power, there would be no great harm in such a licence, and it would be far better than either stopping the matter now, which, beside all other evils, would be a terrible humiliation of our position in the face of her enemies, or than having recourse to the wretched

Jerusalem Act. I know not whether you can or will think it well to use any influence with Lord Russell to back the Archbishop's application. But I much wish you to have the whole case before you. I am very glad to have so good a report of you from the Bishop of Salisbury. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, November 7, 1861.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I have received your interesting and very painful letter respecting the obstacles to the consecration of a bishop for the Sandwich Islands. I do not think it would be expedient for me to volunteer any representation to Lord Russell again on the subject of that Bishopric: he knows my feeling from prior communications, and I also think he will be well disposed to a request from Lambeth. We have a Cabinet on Wednesday, and if the subject is mentioned, I shall be ready. Meantime, I think the thing really to be anxious about is that *your* ground should be held, and that there should be no recourse to that most discreditable Act of 1841; for such it is, to a Legislature which passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. I conclude that if further difficulty is interposed the matter will go to the Colonial Bishops.

Thank God, I am very well. I wish I could hear of your enjoying and profiting by a cessation from labour. I remain, affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

At a meeting held on November 28 to promote a memorial to Lord Herbert of Lea, the Bishop of Oxford had taken a prominent part. To this, Lord Ailesbury refers:—

December 3, 1861.

My dear Lord,—I need not tell you with what interest we read of all that passed at that meeting last Thursday. But I must beg you to allow me to thank you on behalf of Lady Ailesbury and myself, for your beautiful and eloquent

tribute to Sidney Herbert's merits. Thanks to the many true friends present, every trait of his character was successively placed before the world in the most eloquent and touching light; and, I need scarcely add, by none more brilliantly than by you. Pray accept our grateful thanks, and believe me always, my dear Lord, yours very sincerely,

AILESBURY.

December 15.—Off at 7.5 by train from Reading. News of Prince's death at 11 last night. Alas! alas! *Miserere, Domine.* Then to Lambeth. Consecration of Staley, and on to Reading; enormous assembly, and I much interested. At night many thoughts and prayers for poor Queen.

The above entry records the consecration of Mr. Staley to the See of Honolulu. He was the first Missionary Bishop consecrated in England. This the Bishop had laboured hard to bring about. The Bishop had occasion to speak at Reading in reply to a vote of thanks. Referring to the religious crisis at the period when he was speaking, he said :—

The worst feature of the present day was the freedom as to the way of treating Christianity prevalent among those who professed Christianity. The tendency was, of course, among other ways, to be met with dogma and argument; but there was a shorter way; there was a way which, if possible, at least when it was joined to that, was more effectual. It was the dissolving of the cobwebs of sophistry by the reality of Christian life. If they would preserve the inheritance of the faith which they had received, and would hand it down to their children in its magnificence, they must not only argue the faith, but must live the faith. Emphatically that was the case with regard to the spread of the Gospel. Many evidences of Christianity must grow fainter as ages advance; they were remoter from the possibility of proving the facts upon which their faith rested. Each generation, as it handed down its tradition to its successor, removed the successor further from the original facts themselves; but God's

Providence had appointed that, as one evidence diminished there was the other which should increase in weight; and this so pre-eminently that Christianity shall spread, shall be progressive, shall be perpetually upon the crest of the wave of thought and civilisation, achieving, with each coming generation, new triumphs, and so proving the original truth which gives her her force. At this moment there was no single branch of belief which was spreading over the whole world except Christianity, and that not the shadowy, the unreal, the foggy and the misty Christianity which some would have them assume, but a Christianity which was based upon a distinct dogma of the faith, and connected with the distinct discipline of the Christian Church. Mahometanism (as had been remarked) was peculiarly fitted for certain conditions of the Oriental mind, and it had therefore a tendency to spread among the Hindoo nation. They learnt from history that Mahometanism had not advanced for centuries; but not so with the Christian faith. This faith was fitted, as they all knew, by its conquests, for the east as well as the west, for the north as well as the south, and the advancing wave was a perpetual living testimony which God had permitted to the truth of that mighty system which achieves such victories so that every age, if the Christian Church be true to her vocation, creates new evidences by new conquests in the name of Christ. This was specially bearing and incumbent upon them because, if they would have the faith handed on pure to those coming after them, one condition was that they should be in earnest and be united so that they might be successful in extending it throughout the earth.

In conclusion the Bishop thus referred to the death of the Prince Consort:—

And now he wanted every one of them there present to join him in a prayer—not a mere formal cold prayer—during these weeks of sorrow, for God to remember our beloved Queen. Oh! let them remember that in such a trial as this instead of her exalted rank taking from the sting of widowhood it only added to it; that the weight of her crowned authority, so much supported by the loving hand wrenched

from her, must needs press upon that true womanly heart with an almost intolerable weight. Let their prayers for her be real and let not the reality of those prayers be made weak and powerless by their encouraging in their heart the policy of selfishness or the miserable pettiness of suspicion.

There is much evidence of the deep feeling with which the Bishop took part in the funeral of the Prince Consort:—

December 23.—Off with the Dean for Windsor. The funeral most moving; many honest old politicians in tears as it proceeded. Those two princes at their father's feet. His power for good gone.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Athenæum, December 23, 1861.

My dearest Anderson,—I am just come up from the funeral. It was a most moving sight. The Prince of Wales, Prince Arthur, Prince Louis of Hesse, and the son of the King of Belgium, all deeply affected, and really hardly a dry eye in the chapel, old politicians feeling as for a private son. As Woodford beautifully said in his sermon yesterday, there was not a house where there was not, as it were, 'one dead.' I am delighted to think you can meet Prevost; he will so very much enjoy it. But if you find a later time suit you better you will change. Yours ever affectionately,

S. OXON.

The Queen still bears up. Not so good a night last night, probably from the coming funeral. Her worst time is, alas, to come.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.

December 26, 1861.

My dearest Arthur,—How indelible are some dints in memory! Ever since we spent that happy Sunday together here I have come so greatly to associate your memory with

the spot, that all we saw, felt, and spoke of together comes fresh before my mind on every return here.

What a blow this last has been! All my old affection for him has revived over his tomb—and for our poor Queen. I can hardly think without tears of what it is to her. So irreparable, and she so certain to be continually, by all her duties and acts, brought full face to face again and again daily with her grief and her loss. The funeral was most deeply affecting; you saw old, dry, political eyes, which seemed as if they had long forgotten how to weep, gradually melting and running down in large drops of sympathy. The two Princes and the brother and the son-in-law intended, were all deeply moved. It is wonderful how the accidents of the death have done what life and all his service in it never in the least effected, for the deep sorrow and the universal popularity are really astonishing. What spoils has death carried off from us in these few months—your father, Herbert, Graham, the Prince—and how bare does it leave the Queen, really no one on whom she can thoroughly lean. If your dear father had been left she would have had a true friend and would have known that she had.

And then this dark cloud from America. My own belief is that they will *not* fight *now*, hard as it must be for the Government to avoid it. This concerns you too, so closely that I feel doubly interested in it now. You have only just left us really, and yet time so gallops on that it seems quite a long time. I shall require to hear from you, my dearest Arthur, all about *yourself* especially. I am ever, with hearty love, wishing you every Christmas blessing, your very affectionate friend,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Ely thus writes to the Editor his recollections of the sadness at Cuddesdon caused by the Prince's death.

I remember, as though it were yesterday, the Ordination of Advent, 1861—how the whole Ember week at Cuddesdon, usually so bright notwithstanding the work, was darkened by the shadow of the Prince Consort's death. The Bishop

seemed unable to tear himself away from the thought of Windsor and the scenes which were passing there, and I was particularly struck with the personal affection which he manifested for the Queen and the consequently 'home' character of his sympathy with her, less as a sovereign than as a wife. I was to preach the Ordination sermon, and he was specially anxious that the subject should not go unmentioned, however difficult it might be to weave it into an address to the candidates. Trench[2] was at Cuddesdon as an examining chaplain and was absorbed with the sermon which he had to prepare for Westminster Abbey on the coming Sunday. We drove into Oxford late on Saturday night, reaching Christ Church about midnight, and I can still hear, as it were, the Bishop's sad voice in the dark carriage recalling his early remembrances of the Prince in the first days of the Royal marriage. It was then, too (I think), that he mentioned the last conversation which the Prince had held with him. The Bishop had been preaching in the private chapel at Windsor upon the subject of our Lord's intercession in heaven, His presenting the prayers of His people to the Father, and enforcing them by the presence of His human body still bearing the mark of the wounds of His Passion. The Prince had sent a message inviting the Bishop to walk with him in the afternoon, and turned the conversation to the sermon of the morning, saying that it had suggested to him an entirely new view of the subject, that he must not be supposed to mean that he accepted it, but that he should give it his most serious reflection, adding, 'Now, at any rate, I understand why the Church of England is so careful to conclude every prayer with such words as "through Jesus Christ our Lord."'

[2] The Dean of Westminster.

CHAPTER II.

(1862.)

ILLNESS ON CONFIRMATION TOUR—MEETING OF BISHOPS—SPEECH ON LORD EBURY'S BILL—BISHOPS IN HEATHEN COUNTRIES—THE BISHOP AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR—SERMON IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY—RETREAT AT CUDDESDON—LETTERS ABOUT LAY READERS—WEEKLY COMMUNION—DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP SUMNER—THE NEW APPOINTMENTS—ADDRESSES AT SHEFFIELD AND WARGRAVE—THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT—DEATH OF THE PRINCIPAL OF CUDDESDON COLLEGE.

January 1.—(Lavington.) Up at 5, and off with Lewis Owen in blackest of mornings to Graffham. R. Randall's sermon admirable and very touching—'Lo! I come to do Thy will, O Lord!'—may I do it this year! Very, very cold day. After breakfast, with my young men; they to shoot; out with them all day. The savour of the morning service with me. To Petworth to dine and sleep. Great magistrates' party. Duke of Richmond, Lord Chichester, Carnegie, &c., &c.

March 17.—Off for Princes Risborough. A most depressing Confirmation. Church mouldy and empty. Candidates very few, and Princes Risborough evidently untaught. On to Woburn. There things better; care and labour, but depression visible in all. On to Cliveden. Duke and Duchess of Argyll, Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Gladstone, Mrs. Malcolm. A very pleasant evening: intellectual, moral, high bred in everything.

March 18.—After prayers and breakfast off for Burnham. The confirmation a little chill. Carters, &c., all very pleasant. On to Upton. A very nice Confirmation; warmth, intelligence, I hope feeling. Much doing there. Cree very successful. Thence to ——. All well cared for. Back to Cliveden. Gladstone joining. Discussion on increase of Franchise—he

strong for—Education—he for Code; Irish Church—he for maintaining in present right. Will not agree to plan for putting Irish Bishops on our Privy Council.

In April the Bishop had a severe attack of rheumatism; his diary shows how courageously he fought against illness. The attack began while the Bishop was on his annual Confirmation Tour, on April 2. He confirmed at Windsor at 9.30, Eton College at 11.30; then :—

Great pain in left arm. Saw Watson[1] at night, which wakeful all through with great pain.

April 3.—In bed; Watson attending; very poorly; he not knowing what to make of it.

On the 4th :—

Still very poorly, and vexed at being away from my work. Tried strength by going to House of Lords, and quite beat and suffered all night for it.

For the next six days the Bishop was compelled to be quiet and to remain in his room; but on April 11 :—

Rheumatism still bad, but on to Newport Pagnell and Chichely Confirmations; much interested, but suffering all day.

On the 12th :—

Very stiff and poorly this morning. Confirmed at Olney and Broughton, and on to Brickhill Manor; the pain during last part of drive making me quite faint. Fought it out through dinner; then so bad that to bed; sleepless night and great suffering.

April 13.—Unable to move. Tried. Got up and to bed. Put off Confirmations. Read Carter's sermons. Meditated, prayed. Great suffering.

April 19.—After breakfast off in carriage to Aylesbury,

[1] Sir Thomas Watson.

where luncheon with Archdeacon, and horses bait. On to Cuddesdon. Read a good deal of 'Aids to Faith.' Very much tired, but no increase of pain. Read Pitt's death: how affecting.[2]

This renewed attack rendered it for the time impossible that the Bishop should continue his work; he was obliged to stay during four or five days at Brickhill Manor, and then, still ill, go to Cuddesdon, having most narrowly escaped a severe rheumatic fever.

From Brickhill the Bishop writes to Sir Charles Anderson :—

April 16.—I am rather in a bad way. I set out on Thursday for my Confirmations, and fought on till Saturday evening, when, on reaching this place, I was so ill that I had to go to bed, with a very bad relapse of rheumatism, and there I have been ever since. Nothing can have exceeded the kindness of Sir P. and Lady Duncombe, whom I was to have left on Monday.

At Cuddesdon the Bishop, though still far from well, received the Inspectors of Schools on their annual visit; these were succeeded by the Rural Deans, and on the 24th the Bishop records in his diary one important result of his Episcopate :—

Discussion of subjects; all most pleasant; Adam's speech. 'Happy day; never believed it possible that we could be brought together, but it was accomplished *then*.'

May 6.—To Oxford; morning. To Diocesan meetings. Saw both dear Fellows. Evening rode out to Cuddesdon. Very lonely but less oppressed by it. Swinny on business. Read a good bit of 'Hook's Archbishops,' vol. 2.

The Bishop's election to the Philobiblon Society is recorded as follows :—

May 10.—To first breakfast with Philobiblon Society,

[2] Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*.

into which elected rather at unawares, through Curzon's[3] kindness. Van de Weyer and Dufferin by me.

May 17.—Morning wrote, &c. Then meeting of Sons of Clergy, and on to London Bridge, nearly late. Down to Redhill, where William (his groom), and horse, and Cazenove. The day beautiful but hazy. Nightingale singing, &c. Rode to Reigate, and S.P.G. meeting. All cordial and pleasing; good meeting. Mrs Hoare, Wynter, and other old friends. Rode with Cazenove; Reigate Park, &c. Wrote preface to 'Hawaii' (Mr. Manley Hopkins' book).

On May 27, Lord Ebury moved the second reading of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Bill, the object of which was to alter the declaration required from those about to be ordained, in accordance with the 36th Canon, that the Book of Common Prayer contained in it nothing contrary to the Word of God. This question had been introduced at the Bishops' private meeting on May 22 by the Bishop of Lichfield, who supported Lord Ebury, and said he had been told that there were a number of young men kept out of the ministry by the declaration, and in the present lack of men, &c. . . . He was answered by the Bishop: 'Did *you* yourself ever meet one such?' Bishop of Lichfield: 'No.' Bishop of Oxford to all: 'Did any one of us ever find one such?' All: 'No.'

The diary of May 27 contains this entry in reference to the speech the Bishop made against the Bill, an extract from which is given:—

Then to House of Lords on Ebury's motion. Spoke, and utterly disgusted at my speech; led away from tone of my own inner serious convictions to debate it effectively. Miserable afterwards.

The Bishop said:—

Did their lordships mean, in a day which, as he thought,

[3] Hon. R. Curzon, afterwards Lord Zouche.

the noble earl (Lord Russell, who had just spoken) had rightly described as one of unexampled boldness, not to say audacity, of individual belief, to withdraw all declarations from those who were to be the teachers of the people that they held any amount of truth whatever? He was astonished at the exaggerated statements which had been made of hundreds and thousands of young men who became Dissenting ministers rather than remain in the Church, because some day or other they might have to make the declaration that they believed what they said. During the seventeen years he had been connected with the University of Oxford, having had hundreds of conscientious young men coming to him perpetually for assistance in the resolution of their doubts, he could say he had never found one who, in the midst of his scruples, scrupled about this; and when, on a recent occasion, a great number of prelates were in town, he took the liberty of asking them whether, in their varied experience, they ever found such a case, the answer of every Bishop was that he knew of none. He ventured, therefore, to think that this was one of those chimerical creations of men in buckram, who were always ready to be called on the stage to represent a mighty army by flitting to and fro across the vision, but who, if they could really be seen at once, would turn out to be a very paltry assortment of country actors. . . . To thus stir the entire minds of the people and Church of England, to call on their lordships to alter the whole standing-place of the ministry of that Church, and having made his speech, and introduced those fabulous numbers of men under the deep conflict of conscience, to set them free from all discomfort by such a declaration as his noble friend had proposed, he did say was trifling. Nothing was more calculated to do harm than stirring such questions, unless with the resolute determination on conscientious grounds to go through with them to the very utmost, till they were brought to a final settlement. He believed their lordships were not prepared to give up the principle of subscription, and unless they were so prepared they could not entertain such a measure as this. What was wanted was that they should have the guarantee which honest men would consider

binding on them—not that they would not hereafter alter their opinions—that was not the meaning of subscription. No man ever said he would not alter his opinion on any point; but what he said was, he now held certain definite and intelligible views of truth, took his teacher's office on condition of teaching them, and, as an honest man, if he changed those views he was prepared to lay down the office which he held on the condition of maintaining them.

June 22.—Shalstone. Morning early. Prepared morning sermon on, 'If we believe that Jesus died.' Many in church in tears. God grant some good done. Consecrated churchyard. Wrote. Prepared sermon for afternoon on gift of Spirit. Baptised Richard Purefoy Fitzgerald. Walked in garden with Mrs. Fitzgerald. Read some of 'Life of Irving.'

July 4.—Meeting on the Central African Mission; reading journals, &c.; five hours in chair; Provost of Oriel very warm. Reading for article on Sandwich Islands for the 'Quarterly.'

July 5.—Worked very hard all day at article—save when dear Basil came *en route* for Wales. He very dear and affectionate. Down with Reg. in hansom in pouring rain to Highgate to Miss Coutts.

On the 8th the Bishop was at Oxford presiding at the Church Congress. This was the second year of these meetings, and now that they have assumed the character of a settled institution, it is worth while to observe how the Bishop's prescience averted a danger which might have destroyed them in their infancy. A strong inclination was evinced at this Oxford Congress to pass resolutions. The Bishop saw the peril, and, by checking this inclination, secured the continued existence of Church Congresses as meetings for the interchange of opinions upon ecclesiastical subjects, without binding those present to any conclusions, or dividing the assembly into majorities and minorities.

July 10.—Still engaged at Congress, which, D. G., I think

really very successful. At night preparing sermon for Central African Mission.

July 11.—Morning; early Communion at St. Mary's, and afterwards I preached. On Mackenzie at meeting and came off to London. Missionary Bishops Bill opposed by the Lord Chancellor, with great falsehood of statement, which I had to meet. Withdrew the Bill, *suadente* Lord Derby.

The Bill here referred to was very short, consisting of but one clause. The Bishop had reason to think that it would not be opposed, as the Lord Chancellor had himself suggested the omission of a second clause which was in the Bill when originally introduced, and which required the Royal Licence. The Bishop, in deference to this opinion, struck out the clause. The Lord Chancellor, however, gave a most strenuous opposition to the Bill as altered and founded his opposition on the ground that legislation was unnecessary and that this Bill was an attempt to destroy the supremacy of the Crown, insomuch as under this Bill the Royal Licence would not be required. He also said that the Statute 25 Henry VIII. was one of the most important laws on the Statute Book, as it placed the Crown in the position of being head of the Church. For this mis-statement the Bishop took him to task, as the Statute quoted by the Lord Chancellor had been repealed in the reign of Queen Mary and never re-enacted. He then pointed out the Act which did bear on the question before the House, 20 Henry VIII., but that Statute claimed for the Crown that it was the source of all spiritual authority. He said: 'The supremacy of the Crown was the supremacy of the law; but the law had never said that the Crown had the spiritual authority of a Bishop—power in governing the consciences of those who belonged to his government. The doctrine laid down by the noble and learned lord

on the woolsack would lead to all that Romanists endeavoured to thrust upon the Church of England, if it was asserted by any authority.'

A sharp passage of arms then ensued between the Bishop and the Chancellor, and in the end the Bishop, seeing how few of the representatives of the Episcopal Bench were present, on the advice of Lords Derby and Granville, withdrew the Bill. The following are the concluding remarks of the Chancellor, and the Bishop's answer. They were, as will be seen, of the nature of a personal explanation on one of the issues that had been raised in the debate.

The Lord Chancellor: It is contended that I have made a mistake as regards the use of the word 'spiritual.' Now, what is the oath of allegiance? It declares that no foreign prince, prelate, &c., hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, pre-eminence, or authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in this realm. What is the other declaration as to the Queen? 'That she is in all causes and in all matters within her dominions supreme.' Noble lords will see how it confirms my argument.

The Bishop of Oxford: This is another of those inaccuracies of statement of which I have to complain in so high a legal authority. If the declaration were in the terms in which the Lord Chancellor has stated it, that the Queen is 'in all matters' supreme, it would of course bear out the argument of the noble and learned lord; but the declaration is not so. It is, 'in all causes' and 'over all persons within these her dominions supreme,' and the inaccurate quotation marks what the noble lord wants, and cannot find, to establish his statement.

The Bill was then withdrawn.[4]

The following is an extract from a sermon preached

[4] The day after the above debate I was walking with my father down Cockspur Street, when we met Lord Chelmsford, who said, after greeting the Bishop: 'I should think this morning Westbury feels the same sensations mentally, that an Eton boy would bodily after an interview with Keate.'—ED.

by the Bishop in Westminster Abbey on June 29, on the deaths of Lord Canning and Bishop Mackenzie. Referring to the latter, the Bishop thus writes: 'How very, very trying is Bishop Mackenzie's death! How soon his place won amongst the confessors' shining ranks! But, alas! he threw that precious life away.'

The Bishop gave a glowing account of the happiness of the perfected soul:—

Immortal life must be the degradation of the degraded, and the glory of the perfected. Their happiness was illimitable and everlasting. There was no 'absorption,' no 'ceasing to be,' no 'separate consciousness swallowed up in universal life,' but the unity of the soul was but the transcript of everlasting unity. The next transition was to the death of particular persons. But the other day we stood in the northern transept of that very abbey with hushed hearts and tearful eyes as the vaulted echoes of the arches gave back the beautiful song over the mighty dead.[5] Not for their glory, or for their acquirements, or for their mighty power, though they might have ruled a hundred millions, were they *now* honoured. If they were pure here, what must they be when they were received purified into heaven? Some men led evident palpable lives of usefulness; truth was maintained, justice supported and wrong redressed. But did they suppose that the lives of men who did good unseen were purposeless?—lives such as that of their brother whom their mother Church mourned that day,[6] who had left home, fortune, hopes, friends, to preach the Gospel on the shores of Africa or the banks of the Zambesi? Such a man's life repeated itself again; it laid hold of some other heart and caused it to emulate it. Perhaps by his death a thousand were encouraged in their secret struggles to do and to dare for Christ. The death of some such champion of the Cross might so be made more fruitful than his life.

The following is an account of the opening and concluding addresses delivered by the Bishop in a

[5] Lord Canning. [6] Bishop Mackenzie.

Retreat for the Clergy, taken from his notes; which are, unfortunately, only fragmentary. The Retreat began at Cuddesdon on Wednesday, July 23, and finished on Saturday morning, July 26. First Address, Wednesday night, 9.30.

The need of *an object*.—Mere quietness of spirit, though a blessing, not enough; rather a higher standing-point for an after-reach of holier living, and for this some definite object, so far as may be, according to our own spiritual state and need—*e.g.* overcoming some special sin—gaining some special grace—acquiring some new power, as *e.g.* power of prayer—or strength against some new temptation.

2. Other means of using it—mental prayer, *i.e.* dwelling in devout contemplation, as on some act, or attribute, or promise of God. The *mind* receiving the idea, the imagination dwelling on and making it live, the intellect grasping it, the affections kindling it, the will choosing it—this must be if any profit is to be the result. Four needs: 1. A disciplined mind—the power of fixing it. 2. Strength of will—to put hindrances away, such as intrusive thoughts, sorrow, anxiety. 3. Humility—for the sense of need of grace. 4. Interspersing petitions—colloquies, as in the Book of Psalms.

Concluding address:—

We shall soon be sent, as the disciples in the Gospel, to distribute the bread. Shall we stand as the same, or will these days have changed us? It is like a flood-tide bearing us up, but there is the danger of ebb; there is to us the danger of reaction. How are we then to profit? If there be the thought of a life with more of aim and perseverance, less of self, more of God; less of the world, more of the sanctuary; which will last with autumn when the leaves drop—hesitate not on the verge of faith; cast thyself into the deep; resolve to make the choice, for a more single life, for a more concentrated aim, where better than here?

Going forth from here, a few rules will suffice: 1. Read of spiritual things daily for yourself, if only for a half or a quarter of an hour. Let one thought from this reading dwell through the day, so as to spread over all.

2. Use self-examination, general and particular—one as to the general bearing of the day, the other as to the besetting sin or sins; to be short is often best, now and then long forms, but generally short, touching the points of evil. Five minutes a day may keep a self-examined soul prepared for judgment.

3. Use frequent Communion; prepare with some additional act of devotion; follow it with a grace of thanksgiving.

4. Fix upon *one* virtue, at least, specially to aspire to. Keep that virtue; purity; recollection of God's presence; humility. Make it a special point of prayer, and of what you seek at Communion—this in connection with the glorified life of Jesus Christ.

5. And with this virtue fix on some one trial which thou wilt bear more patiently, bearing loneliness or the strife of temptation or some rough word or some crushing weight. Bear with more of meekness in union with the Passion, the five wounds, in one of which we would hide our woe.

6. Ejaculatory prayer, keeping the cry ready for our virtue, or some verse of the lesson, so as to watch the service, and keep our attention fixed.

The transformation before us, of the disembodied spirit moving in the flow of the Heavenly Ocean, and then in the image of the Risen Saviour. O Lord, hasten our preparation to meet Thee, and may we hear Thy voice receiving us—'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'[7]

[7] The following extract is taken from a letter written by the Rev. T. Edwards, of Prestbury, in 1874, who was present; this letter has already been published[a]:—

'When the Retreat was over, and some of those present had already left, the Bishop of Capetown, who had been present throughout the Retreat, sent to the college inviting all who could to go into the Palace, that they might unite with him in an expression of thanks to the Bishop of Oxford for conducting it. I went, as, no doubt, did all who were not gone, and the Bishop of Capetown expressed, in the name of all, our gratitude to the Bishop of Oxford, who, when looking for a period of retirement and refreshment for himself, had suddenly and without preparation undertaken the laborious task of conducting the Retreat,[b] of which we had enjoyed the fruits. All were under the influence of this Retreat; and the blessing which, at the conclusion of his address, the Bishop of Capetown asked for and the Bishop of Oxford gave, as we all knelt in one of the large

[a] *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown*, vol. ii. p. 549.

[b] The Rev. H. P. Liddon was to have conducted this Retreat, but at the last moment he was compelled, by the death of a relative, to be absent.

July 26.—Cuddesdon. The party broke up after breakfast and church. Early Communion and address on perseverance. As soon as they were gone I sat down and wrote character of Mackenzie for 'Church and State Review,' and then letters. To evening church. Lady Anderson, F., and Ernest came. Took a trot before dinner at 8, and with them all the evening.

July 29.—(Cuddesdon.) I at 10.30 to Oxford, to preside over Conference of Clergy; about 104 in Convocation House. Rector of Exeter all kindness, and so indeed all. Moore and Bickersteth good papers on spiritual mind. Evening—Temperance movement. Ellison and Clutterbuck for.

August 9.—(Chevening.) Wrote all the morning—letters and review of Mrs. Trench for 'Literary Churchman.' Then drove with the Cheney's, General Peel, and Lord Stanhope to Holwood. Examined the 'Wilberforce' oak.[8] Saw Mr. Pitt's old carter boy; now 82; clear in his remembrance: 'Mr. Pitt took in from farm the ground sloping below the oak; he planted all except the old oaks; he used to get the trees from Brompton; I used to go in cart for them; he was very particular about the planting. Was a very nice sort of man, would do what anyone asked him in one way or another.' Mr. Cheney's good story of Rogers. His mode of telling a story, and, if it failed, saying, 'Some people don't see that.'

One of the letters recorded as having been written on this day was to Dr. Staley, the newly consecrated Bishop of Honolulu, and it gives the Bishop's opinions on the difference between deacons and readers:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Honolulu.

Chevening, Sevenoaks, August 9, 1862.

My dear Bishop,—If you find laymen who will work under you, I would by all means use them—without their

rooms of the Palace, concluded an incident, simple indeed, but deeply impressive, and all the more so, looking back at it after an interval of twelve years, and remembering that both these holy men, to whom, as well as to us, that time had been among their holiest moments, are resting from their labours.'

[8] The oak under which Mr. Pitt agreed to support W. Wilberforce in abolishing the Slave Trade.

giving up their pursuits—in the service of the sanctuary. But I would not call them deacons, nor ordain them with laying on of hands. I am persuaded: 1. That having a double order under the same name, *i.e.* deacons who have renounced all for the ministry and those who have not, is (*a*) contrary to primitive use, (*b*) full of inconvenience in practice, and (*c*) would lead to confusion. 2. That the true mode is to have what, under like circumstances, the Church has already developed—a minor order. Such an order, therefore, I should institute. I would avoid, as long as I could, giving it a name, because names offend when the reality is unknown; when the thing has shown its own usefulness it will find a name. Then either sub-deacon or reader might, without alarm to any, designate the familiar and useful *fact*. As to the mode of appointment of such, I should *best* like the communicants to elect or approve; but, till they are organised, would select them myself *carefully* and *after trial* of their soundness. Then I would set them, not apart from secular pursuits, but *for* their office, by prayer in the congregation, *e.g.* some of the ordination prayers. Their work should be very much the *Catechist's*. I should let them *preach* in schoolhouses, &c.; reading portions of the Prayer-book appointed by me—*not* the Absolution; no *extempore* prayer. I would place them with the Clergy in the chancel in surplices, get them to lead the choir and read the first lesson at times. I should employ them specially at outposts, ministering to distant congregations in schools, and bringing periodically their flocks to the mother church for Communion, &c. I am most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

August 11.—Chevening. Early breakfast and off with Cheneys to London. Saw Honolulu. Settled papers, &c., and by rail to Tamworth, where beloved E—, and home. Dinner alone with them. Henry (Pye) Protestant and pleasant. A good deal of talk with him.

August 28.—(Hawarden.) Off at 6.45. Gladstone down to see me off, and all the rest. To Chester. Robes left, and telegraphed. To Sarsden. Heavy rain. Wrote, and then rode with Barter to examine Heythrop. Pleasant evening.

Dr. Moberly said he met Keble looking very pleased; asked why, and heard that 'the Bishop of Winchester has begun a letter to me, "Dear Mr. Keble."'

In August the Bishop went for a short holiday to North Wales. The following extract taken from 'The Guardian' throws some light on the way he spent his days of rest:—

A Welsh paper says: The Bishop of Oxford has been preaching in Wales in aid of the Foreign Missions of the Church. Nearly every day of this week he is occupied by sermons or meetings in various towns in North Wales. Last Sunday he preached at a small town, Corwen, when the Church was crowded almost to suffocation. The large congregation were very justly delighted with an extempore sermon such as is seldom heard. We have understood that the Bishop is now 'having his holidays.' We may well ask what he does when in full work?

The following letter to the Dean of St. Asaph relates first to the offertory at morning service, and, secondly, to the necessity of celebrating the Holy Communion weekly in all English Cathedrals:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Dean of St. Asaph.

Denbigh, August 24, 1862.

My dear Dean,—My view on the subject is that the Offertory proper is so strictly a part of the great Eucharistic offering that we violate, not only a rubric, but a principle, when we use it with no intention of proceeding to a Communion, if the Communicants present themselves. For this reason I greatly prefer on a weekday morning, when it is not intended to offer to the worshippers the opportunity of communicating, that God's praises should be sung in a congregational hymn whilst the collection is made. My own practice then is, that the alms should be brought to me and placed on the holy table, and then I use one of the appropriate collects at the end of the sentences before pronouncing the blessing. May I hope, as you have done me the honour of consulting me on

this, that I shall not be deemed by you obtrusive if I add that I see not how our Cathedrals can really hold their place as the Mother Church of the Diocese so long as (in direct violation of the rubric) there is not a weekly communion at them. If this be our highest act of united Christian worship how can we look for that full effusion of the Spirit, without which all is vain, whilst this is omitted. I well know, both as Canon and as Dean, the difficulty of altering an established custom of omission; but I am sure of the blessing which waits on such a restoration. As to the bidding prayer, I think it comparatively unimportant—a mere matter of strict canonical observance. I am, my dear Dean, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop's copying-book of this year shows the way in which the Bishop treated complaints made to him by parishioners of neglect on the part of their clergyman. The clergyman in question was one of those who neglected the plain directions in the Prayer Book when he thought fit. In this particular instance, he had omitted on St. Bartholomew's day, which fell on a Sunday, to read the Athanasian Creed and the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for the Saint's day. The Bishop wrote and told him that the proper course would have been to read the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Saint's day. The clergyman replied that it was a 'trifling irregularity,' and requested the Bishop to give up the name of the person who had made the complaint, whom he denounced as a 'busy-body.' To this the Bishop replied telling him: 1. That neglect of the prescribed office was not a trifling irregularity; and 2. That the person who had given the information had taken the 'proper course in complaining to the Bishop.' The clergyman was obstinate, and refused to give any promise of better behaviour; so the Bishop wrote him a third letter, in which he let him see very plainly that he could not disobey his

Bishop with impunity; he therefore ordered him to obey the rubrics or take the consequences. This last letter effected its object.

On September 6 the Archbishop of Canterbury died at the great age of eighty-two after a long illness. At the end of August the Bishop had been staying with Mr. Gladstone, and the diary for August 27 records: 'Drove to Aber, and walked up the valley with Gladstone, a good deal of talk with him about Church promotions, &c. He takes more part than I thought. But spoke of the Bishop of Chester as bearable for Canterbury!!!' On September 5, referring to this conversation, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Gladstone saying: 'If such a conjuncture happened as we spoke of, Lichfield or Winchester would be a thousand times better for the Church than Chester to push into the vacant chair.' The Diary of September 7, the Bishop's birthday, is: 'A happy birthday in many respects. Sad about the dear Archbishop's death.' The next day the Bishop wrote to Mr. Gladstone as follows:—

My dear Gladstone,—I wrote a few hasty lines this early morning on hearing of the Archbishop's death, not knowing what haste there might be in resolving on the successor. I still think that the Archbishop of York would be the best for the Church at Canterbury. But I appreciate to the full the difficulty as to York, and, having respect to that, I should very earnestly desire that your influence should be used for getting the Bishop of Winchester to succeed his brother. I believe that, if we are not to have a thorough Churchman, he would be far the best man amongst us. He is a capital administrator, an Eton scholar of that old school dying out amongst us, entirely good, sound on all main points of the faith, a gentleman, and a man of surpassing prudence; he is in full vigour of mind and body, though 70 years old, which *therefore* I consider no disadvantage. Then for Lord Palmerston appointing, and your suggesting him, there is much to be

said. In standing, he is, by seniority of the Episcopate, the oldest who could be appointed. It leaves a GOOD appointment for Lord Palmerston. It would be thoroughly welcomed by the Evangelical party; it would excite no anger in others; it would, perhaps more than any other, maintain that *status quo* which I suppose he now wishes to keep, and which you may surely expect to be maintained. I cannot doubt but that you might secure an appointment so much the natural channel of Lord Palmerston's nomination, and that in doing so you would confer an inestimable benefit on the Church. I hope you will not think that I do wrong in speaking so plainly to you. I am yours very affectionately,

S. OXON.

The Archbishop's funeral is thus referred to:—

September 12.—(Lavington.) Up early. Wrote, and off to funeral of the Archbishop. The day beautiful. Gathering of many old friends. Bishop of Winchester greatly affected. Home, D.G., and all well.

On September 10, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Bishop saying that he had written to Lord Palmerston urging strongly the appointment of some one who combined in his own person moderation with learning and piety, and glancing favourably at age as a condition of fitness for the primacy, and finally referring, by way of example, to the Archbishop of York. Mr. Gladstone further said that he thought this appointment would not be made; yet, if it were, he said that in his mind there was not the smallest doubt that the Bishop was the person who ought to succeed to York. On September 25 the diary records:—

(Doncaster.) Called on Dr. Vaughan, who told me that the Archbishop of York had to-day received the offer of Canterbury and accepted. God be praised! He can overrule all.

The next day he writes thus to an intimate friend:—

I suppose to-morrow's papers will tell you that York goes to Canterbury; quite surely an answer to prayer, looking at what we might have had. We shall have peace and holiness, and a steady adherence to Church principles in him. God be thanked. . . . I preached to marvellously still church *full* here (Doncaster) to-day.

After the appointment had been made to Canterbury, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Lord Palmerston strongly pressing the appointment of the Bishop of Oxford to York. That Mr. Gladstone failed in securing this appointment for the man whom all England looked upon as the most peculiarly fitted for the Archbishopric of the Northern Province, and that the Bishop's former curate was appointed instead, is now a matter of history. The following letter expresses the Bishop's thanks to Mr. Gladstone for the part he had taken :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

My dear Gladstone,—I thank you from my heart for having let me see your letter.[9] It humbled and it cheered me. Humbled me to see how far too kindly you judged of me; cheered me more than I can say to know that such a man as you so wrote about me.

The next letter, written to Sir C. Anderson from Bradford, shows that the Bishop would have been willing and ready to have accepted the charge :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Bradford, November 11, 1862.

My dearest Anderson,—Many thanks for your cheery letter. I gave your message to host and hostess. It was curious how indignant they were about the appointment. Beckett said it was an affront to Yorkshire. I only wish he

[9] Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Palmerston.

would tell Palmerston so. There must be some history, if we could get it, because only last week at Hickleton Sir C. Wood told Admiral Meynell that I was to be appointed. Well, it is best as it is, for those who will make it best; but there is no denying that I should have liked, if it had been God's will, to work amongst my father's people. The meetings and services have been most cheering: they say the largest congregations ever gathered in the parish church on Sunday evening at Leeds. Such a gathering last night at Huddersfield. I wish I could come and see you on my way out, but I am going to Bridgenorth to preach at the opening of the church, and thence on Friday direct to Oxford and to Stony Stratford. . . . I should like to have read your Bishop's letter—it is quite a nice one. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Archbishopric of York was offered in the first instance to the Bishop of London. Had he accepted it, the following extract from a diary entry at the end of the year shows how Lord Palmerston would have filled up the vacancy:—

December 16.—(Windsor.) Talk with the Dean; he told me that if London had taken York I was to be offered London.

October 11.—(Bedgebury.) After early breakfast and prayers, off to Marden; rail to Guildford; walked to the top of the Hog's Back; rail to Alton; ride with —— towards and on to the Grange; there the Carlyles. Mrs. Carlyle—account of E. Irving; Mrs. Oliphant did not understand him at all; his variety; so kind—never depreciated a living creature; his love and loveableness *the* point of his character; fond of creature comforts. Mrs. Oliphant narrow and jealous, and greatly the cause of submitting him to his foes.

October 13.—At sermon, and then rode into Winchester. At Utterton's. Opening sermon; cathedral crowded; Bishop of Winchester thanked me with emotion. Lord Palmerston at meeting; very, very clever—twisted one sentence of mine sorely.

The sentence the Bishop here alludes to was: 'The schoolmasters are to be religious teachers—not teachers of religion.' Lord Palmerston took this sentence as implying that the schoolmasters were only to teach secular matters; whereas what the Bishop meant was that the master was not to supersede the religious teaching of the clergyman in the school or to release the latter in any degree from *his* functions as teacher of religion.

The two following extracts from speeches illustrate one of the Bishop's greatest powers; that of catching the attention of his audience by some familiar simile, and through it leading them up to a higher level than they were accustomed to, and so teaching them the lesson he had to impart.

The first was delivered in May, at Sheffield, the audience being working men. The second in October to some children, who, with their parents, were assembled at some new schools in the parish of Wargrave, in the Oxford Diocese, which were opened by the Bishop.

Shortly after the conclusion of the meeting[1] at Sheffield, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Wharncliffe, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Vicar of Sheffield, and several of the local clergy proceeded to the Atlas Steel Spring and Iron Works. In the armour-plate works, the party were afforded the opportunity of witnessing the rolling of one of the enormous iron plates for one of the new ironclad frigates, and were evidently greatly interested.[2] The Bessemer process was also shown in full operation. At six o'clock the business of the works was temporarily suspended, and the workmen assembled in front of a platform which had been raised in one of

[1] On behalf of the Honolulu Mission.

[2] From *The Guardian*.

the yards. Mr. J. D. Ellis introduced the Bishop of Oxford, who had consented to speak to the workmen. The Bishop said he was glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words to such an assemblage :—

By the blessing of God a word spoken at such a time might be the means of doing great good. He thought that in the special work in which they were engaged they had a sort of parable of their daily life set before them. Their work in dealing with iron involved long preparation, and, above all, care that the metal was purged of all dross and evil mixtures, before they could make anything worth having in their trade. He had been watching the Bessemer process, and saw that the cold draught of air through the boiling metal blew out a multitude of sparks, all speaking of the burning up of the dross, in order that the pure metal might be left free and fit for its work—just such was the parable of their life and his. The difficulties, and struggles, and temptations of this world were as the draught of cold air poured on to the heated iron; it was done for a purpose, done with a good will, in order that the soul of man might, through God's grace breathing upon it and removing all the evil out of it, be made fit for the Master's use; and just as any failure in the work would be shown when the metal came to be hammered, by its not being able to bear the strain, so would any failure in the moral and religious training of his hearers be apparent on the great day of trial. In the other workshop there was the same parable, set somewhat differently. They might make an armour plate which would look well to the eye, and might seem as good as the others when it was fastened on to the ship's side; but the day might come when that ship would be engaged in a fierce conflict, and then, if there had been any carelessness in the the rolling of that plate, it might result in the destruction of the ship. So it was with man—worldly thoughts would creep in during moments in which the soul was engaged in perfecting its spiritual armour. On the moment of trial, instead of that armour casting back the bolts of the Evil One, and leaving its wearer standing strong in the regenerated

strength of Christ, it would break down, and leave him an eternal wreck.

The following is the speech to the school children at Wargrave :—

My dear children—you whom I see down at the far end of the room—remember you are the first to use it, and do not mar, so far as you are concerned, this work by not using it heartily. Remember, it is not the building of the school alone, or the appointment of a good schoolmaster or mistress ; there must be a hearty will to learn and profit in the scholars, if there is to be any real good work done. And then I may see, perhaps, some of the parents of these scholars. You have a great work to do. You must support the clergy, and the schoolmaster and mistress, in their work with your children if you mean them to produce a good effect ; and you will not do this without a struggle many times between natural softness and parental instinct and a real care for the children's good. Improvement and education are stopped altogether in some parishes, so far as many children are concerned, by parents doing what they call taking their children's part, when they are chastised with a deserved chastisement. There is no greater cruelty to the child than to teach it to set itself against its teachers or pastors, by what you think is 'showing a little spirit' on its behalf. Beware of that. With some parents there is something like a burning fever which shows itself in great earnestness on the child's behalf, and there is among others a low fever which is a carelessness as to whether the child is at school or not, and keeping the children away upon the slightest excuse. Irregularity would ruin any school, as it injures not only the children who stay away, but the others who attend ; the one half, being imperfect, delays the other half in its progress. Like a comb that has got some teeth broken out, which renders it very inconvenient in its vocation—it gives the hair a terrible pull instead of combing it out straight. These children are the broken teeth of our parish ; they give the others a twist till they cry out, as the man does when his hair gets a tremendous pull. They must comb the parish

smooth with the comb of regular attendance. You parents cannot put too much value upon that. The children learn very soon not to care about it much if they see you careless. Unless there is that self-denying determination in parents of the scholars that the children shall be made to come, and having come, be made to obey, no good will be done. And perhaps, after all, that is the greatest lesson they could learn—better than geography or history—that they are under authority, under God's Word, and they will never do any good unless they bow their neck to the yoke; that is the lesson above all lessons, because it is at the root of honesty, cutting down pretence and cutting down to the foundation of a straightforward labouring character in whatever rank of life. And, depend upon it, these are the people, after all, who do the business of their country, and of their Church—aye, and of themselves too. Nobody does anything in this world whose mind is made, like the legs of a grasshopper, for giving jumps now and then, instead of going steadily on every day doing his duty, and carrying the load of every day, like the patient ox, who, though he may be slow, is, at all events, sure. And so try, I do pray you, use the school for that purpose, and then it will not only be, as it is, a beautiful thing to look at, to all the country round, but there will be within a nearer and a better beauty of well-trained lads and lasses, who shall grow up hereafter into well-trained men and women to take up the tradition of work from the last generation and carry it on to the next generation, so that this our goodly parish of Wargrave shall be a praise in the diocese and a praise in the land and a praise upon earth, and yield good fruit to be gathered into the Lord's garner in the great day of the soul's harvest.

The next day the Bishop started for Scotland, where he got a few days' rest.

October 19.—(Edinburgh.) Got ready sermon on paralytic and absolution. Great congregation. Afternoon heard Guthrie. Eloquent, familiar, slip slop; some very good things. Sheep other side of glen going in beaten path. Newton coming back and finding people knew more.

October 22.—(Archerfield). Morning talk with Mr. Nisbet Hamilton about Scotland. A frightful change for the worse passing over the people. The Establishment does not now contain professedly one-third of the population. The weight of its ministry gone. The morals of the people fearfully declining—a very low estimate. The officiating clerk in his own village drunk every Saturday night. Drunk on sacrament wine stolen on the morning of celebration. Whereupon he discharged him from his service. But all the Presbytery petitioned for his restoration, for fear he should join the Free Church. If the English marriage law was in force, quite half the children would be base-born. The Meenisters never visit. Dr. Macleod, after being ten years minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, said he had never but once been at a death-bed, and then by accident.

Dean Ramsay's story of Sir W. Maxwell, and the old Lord Galloway, grandfather of present, and a very proud man. Sir W. Maxwell went to call, and in conversation Lord Galloway intimated that he received such neighbours on a Thursday, when Sir W. replied: 'I know but *ay* Lord wha has a day of his own, and, God forgive me, for I often do not observe that, and I'll be *hanged* if I observe the day of any ither Lord.'

Letters many. Walked with Anderson to shore. Afternoon to Tantallon with him. Professor Aytoun recited lays, and told at night excellent stories.

October 23.—Up and prepared sermon. Morning very unfavourable, but cleared. To North Berwick. Numbers of stone curlews, plovers, &c., about fields. Preached, &c., with interest. All seemed moved. Free Church people stayed to Communion. Aytoun and Napier specially attentive. Sermon on Worship.

Referring to this sermon, the Right Hon. R. A. Nisbet Hamilton, who was the Bishop's host, writes to Sir Charles Anderson: 'The Bishop of Oxford's sermon made so great an impression, that some rabid Free Kirk ladies who listened to it remained to receive the Sacrament from him. This is very remarkable.'

On the 30th he was back again in the Diocese, the entry for that day being: 'Wycombe meeting, Disraeli's speech. All his talk with me aiming at Gladstone. "I and others kept the Church as his nest-egg when he became a Whig, till it was almost addled."'

A day or two before this meeting, Mr. Disraeli writes to the Bishop as follows: 'I hope we may have a good meeting. It is now or never with the laity. If they move, all will be right; but we have troublous times before us. I wish you could have induced Gladstone to have joined Lord Derby's Government, when Lord Ellenborough resigned in 1858. It was not my fault he did not. I almost went on my knees to him. Had he done so, the Church, and everything else, would have been in a very different position.'

The following letter gives the Bishop's opinions on what was afterwards known as the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. T. T. Carter.

Dec. 15, 1862.

My dear Carter,—I have looked at the little book you were so kind as to give me concerning the Holy Communion, and I am sorry to say that I do not at all approve of the idea of which it is the embodiment. It appears to me to be absolutely diverse from the tone of primitive Christianity and of our own Church. I remember no parallel, save in some of the most modern Romish devotions. Confraternities for living together for work or for the maintenance of a life of devotion and prayer, are quite another matter; but a confraternity bound together only—if really for anything—for the exaltation of the Blessed Sacrament, the common instrument of communion with Christ for all believers, seems to me either unmeaning or unwarrantable and full of many dangers very likely to lead to superstition, to self-exaltation, and to

an abuse of the Blessed Sacrament in those who join it, and almost certain to lead, by a reaction, amongst others to a lowering of the true doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Eucharist, whilst it is quite sure to stir up a vast amount of prejudice from its singularly un-English and Popish tone, which prejudice will address itself, not merely to attack excess, but to pull down truth. Surely our own Bishop Andrewes had drawn from God's Word and primitive antiquity and the inner teaching of the Spirit the highest views of this Blessed Sacrament, and yet how utterly different is his tone from that of this proposal. I entreat you, my dear friend, to reconsider this matter. Believing that the revival of the full Eucharistic temper in our Church, in its purity, would be as great a gift as our God could give to us, I view with the utmost jealousy any tendency to ally that reviving earnestness to the unrealities and morbid developments of modern Romanism. You may do much one way or the other. I entreat you to reconsider the matter for yourself, and as Bishop I exhort you to use no attempts to spread this confraternity amongst the clergy and religious people of my diocese.' I am always your most affectionate

S. OXON.

December 13.—(Bray.) After breakfast prepared sermon on 'The Renewer.' Oh for some touch of His renovating hand in my deepest being! Preached with interest. The morning wet and congregation thinned—but many clergy and others. Then to Hibberts to luncheon, where many. Madame Van de Weyer most cordial. Then home and wrote with Archdeacon Randall, and off by Reading to North Camp station, and to Farnham. I strangely overset; almost expecting to find *her* coming to this bedroom in which I write, and which we occupied together. Oh life! Oh death! Oh blessed Will of God, to Thee I bow!

December 16.—After breakfast and little walk off for North Camp; to Wellington College. Sir W. Joliffe, Sir W. Hayter, and many clergy. Consecration. Then to Windsor Castle with Blunt and Stanley; much talk with him. Queen sent for me, and half-hour's talk. Very natural and affecting.

Constant talk of Prince—of *my* sorrow. Never saw her so womanly winning. Dinner with suite. Then Prince of Wales sent for me; talk with him. Prince Louis very friendly.

The following refers to this the Bishop's first visit to Windsor, and first interview with the Queen, after the death of the Prince Consort :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Windsor Castle, December 17.

My dearest Anderson,—I am just home from the consecration of the mausoleum—one of the most touching scenes I ever saw, to see our Queen and the file of fatherless children walk in and kneel down in those solemn prayers. I had a half-hour's talk with her yesterday and nothing could be more delightful, so gentle, so affectionate, so true, so real—no touch of morbidness—quite cheerful, and so kind. She spoke of the great sorrow of my life. . . . A sister could not have been more tender. . . . I go to Cuddesdon this evening. I am ever your affectionate

S. OXON.

It will be remembered that one of the rules the Bishop made for himself was: 'Never to hurry men when they come to consult you.'[3] This letter shows not only the great affection he bore towards Mr. Swinny, but also an enduring recollection of the resolutions made on entering the episcopate.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. H. H. Swinny.

November 25, 1862.

My dearest Principal,—I have been unhappy ever since I came away lest I should have *hurried* you in that short interview. I hope I did not. I know I did not, because I could not, show you any of the deep affection I bear you, or of my continual remembrance of you labouring on in your

[3] Vol. i. p. 320.

high calling in the midst of such weakness of the body. Believe me, it is a spur and incentive to my idleness you cannot dream of. May our loving Lord be very very near to you in all your work and in your own soul. I am, your very affectionate,

S. OXON.

December 21.—Morning, alarm that Warden of All (Souls) could not preach. I hastily prepared. I find this *hurrying* tell more and more on me, leaving an intense fatigue—longing almost irresistible to sleep. GREAT temptation at such times to irritability. Spero kept down. The Warden preached a noble sermon. Day ended with Chapter dinner as usual.

A characteristic story of one of the Bishop's earlier Ordinations may well be quoted in this place. The story is given in the writer's own words :—

I was a candidate for Priest's orders at the Bishop of Oxford's January Ordination. We were one day busily occupied, seated round a long table, answering the questions, when the Bishop entered to inspect us. Struck by his youthful appearance, I remarked rather above a whisper to a friend sitting next me, 'Why, the Bishop looks younger than some of the men.' Immediately after we were separately summoned to a personal interview in the Bishop's study. My name happened to be the first called; and after translating, as directed, a few verses of the Epistle to Timothy, 'Now, Mr. ——,' said the Bishop, 'will you tell me something about Timothy? He was a young man, was he not?' I of course assented. 'Well,' his Lordship went on, 'did St. Paul think that a disqualification for his office as a Bishop?' Then, when I, rather conscience-stricken, was bungling out some reply, he fixed his eye upon me with that keen searching gaze, by which he looked one through, and said: 'Don't you remember his words? "Let no man despise thy youth."' The look and the tone were quite clear, and I mentally resolved not to hazard remarks on the personal appearance of a Bishop, at all events till I was safely ordained.

I remember an instance of his well-known power of recalling faces and of his kindness of heart. Ordained to a

College title, I left the diocese after the ordination, and did not meet the Bishop for six or seven years. Being in Oxford one summer, I was luxuriating under the shade of the grand elms of Christ Church Walk, when the Bishop, accompanied by a large party of guests, came past. I rose and took off my hat, when, apparently instantly recognising me, he left his friends, one of whom was M. Guizot, then a visitor at Cuddesdon, and, stepping aside, greeted me with a hearty shake of the hand. He may not have known my name, but his kindly motive was clear, and it was by such little acts of graciousness as by other ways that he attached to him not only the clergy over whom he presided, but those who, like myself, had no claim except a temporary acquaintance on his notice.

The following entries record the death of the Rev. H. H. Swinny, the Principal of Cuddesdon College. Mr. Swinny was appointed Principal in 1859 on the resignation of the Rev. A. Pott. It was a critical period in the history of the College. The Bishop was determined to make certain changes in the College—he was equally determined that such changes should not appear to be owing to the attacks. This is shown by a letter to Mr. Swinny, written in 1858.

The more I think over Cuddesdon College, the more I feel that I cannot, consistently with what is due to my character, make any *apparently* marked alteration in its management under the present storm of attack which is breaking on it. These attacks aim *not* at the points in which I see danger or room for improvement, but at the fundamental character of the College as a place for training men in the sacramental principles of our Church.

December 23.—Just before starting for Colnbrook the news of dear Swinny's sudden death smote on my breast. What a loss to the family, the Church, our Diocese, the College, Cuddesdon, me! God be merciful. Quite overset by it.

December 25.—(Cuddesdon.) With poor Mrs. Swinny

before evening service; very affecting. Spoke to the children in the room, with their father stretched so silent and calm on the sofa.

The Bishop, writing to a great friend, thus testifies of Mr. Swinny's work in the College:—

It is most cheering to see how really his character did manifest itself to the inward perception of those who were capable of comprehending such noble greatness. Liddon's letter specially strikes me for the remarkable truth, which has occurred to me, of the *deepening* lines of his influence.

And again:—

Nothing can be more marked than the way in which Swinny lifted up the whole tone of the College, and I doubt not for an instant that in many an earnest ministry 'he yet speaketh.'

CHAPTER III.

(1863.)

MR. HADFIELD'S BILL—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE—PRINCE OF WALES'S MARRIAGE—THE BISHOP ON DISPENSATIONS—UNIVERSITY SERMONS—LETTER TO MR. GORDON—SPEECH ON CRAM—CHARGE OF 1863—ADVICE ON PREACHING—LETTER TO MR. GORDON.

January 17.—S. Walpole told me of his talk with old Henley. 'I said, What a shame that Palmerston did not send your Bishop to York; I hope we should have done so.' Henley: 'Don't think I don't respect him; he has these three large counties to look after, and never had schoolmaster three forms more under his thumb. He knows all our raws, and we know his whip.'

The following extract from a letter to Sir C. Anderson relates to the recent appointments:—

My clergy have requested me (stirred up, I think, to a demonstration by their affectionate indignation as to the two primacies) to sit for my portrait for them, and they desire me to fix the painter.[1]

The following correspondence with Mr. Gladstone relating to a proposal of Mr. Hadfield to abolish the declaration made by Mayors that they would not use their office against the Established Church brings out very clearly the Bishop's opinions on the relation of the Church of England towards Dissenters. Before entering upon the correspondence he wrote the following letter to Dr. Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury, asking him his opinion:—

[1] This portrait of the Bishop in his robes was painted by George Richmond, Esq., R.A., and was placed in Cuddesdon Palace.

March 11, 1865.

My dearest Bishop,—Yesterday, at Windsor, Gladstone settled on me quite fiercely to secure my support of Hadfield's Bill for doing away the declaration of Mayors, &c., that they will not use their municipal offices against the Church. Gladstone says it is no security; it is a mere ban fixed on Dissenters, &c. 'If you will not give up this, you will give up nothing,' &c. I replied: 'Why should we give it up? We gain nothing instead. It is no stigma; it is simply saying, "There is an Established Church, and whilst, in the fulness of our tolerance, we admit all Dissenters to all places, we make them assert that they will not use their municipal position against the Established Church." Then,' I said, 'all the real supporters of the Church will look on it as a desertion,' &c. Now, will you weigh the matter, and tell me your mind? I hate thus thwarting him. Yours ever affectionately,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Salisbury's answer was this quotation from the 'Guardian' of the previous week:—

It is, of course, true that the Church is in no danger from Dissenters as regards her inner life and essential interests, but there is much that Dissenters wish to take from her and that her friends desire to retain, and which, were they to cease to exert themselves, would be in no little danger.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Cliveden, Maidenhead, March 15, 1863.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I had thought of making some inquiry respecting the rather mysterious account you give me of the latent purpose of Mr. Hadfield's Bill for abolishing the declaration by which persons acceding to offices renounce all intention to injure the Established Church by means of their official powers.

But on reflection I cannot think it necessary; for, as I apprehend the matter, no one is obliged to take this declaration at all. I took it myself last year as Elder Brother of the

Trinity House, in which capacity I have no duty whatever to discharge except, I believe, to appoint an 'almsbody' once in five or ten years. As Chancellor of the Exchequer I have not taken it. An annual Act of Indemnity passes, with your consent, to dispense with it, and all who choose avail themselves of the dispensation.

I put it to you that, if this be so, the declaration ought not to be maintained upon the Statute Book. If it is right to require of certain persons that they should declare something on behalf of the Established Church, the law, and not the individual, should define who those persons shall be. An established legal *præmunire* of self-exemption is fatal to the law. If you are right in saying (which I have never heard elsewhere) that men wish to escape the declaration in order that they may carry their municipal paraphernalia in state to Dissenting chapels, it is plain that they can do it now, and therefore the declaration cannot be maintained on the plea that it prevents them, for it does not. If I am told that the mere abstract existence of such a declaration, counteracted as it is by the indemnity, deters the flesh and blood of Dissenting mayors from such a use of the *paraphernalia*, such a reply, I must say, appears to me to be fanciful. In short, if this Bill is not to be supported, it is better to profess thorough-going obstructiveness at once, and to say that nothing shall be yielded except to force, for that is what the whole matter comes to. We will not let the State marriage law be changed, with an express exemption for the Church marriage law, because we say the freedom thus given is worthless. We will not let Mr. Bouverie's unhappy clergy be 'relieved,' although his Bill contains such recognition of discipline in the Church as has scarce been known for 200 years, again showing that we set no value upon freedom. Then comes up Mr. Hadfield's Bill, so little as to be almost invisible, and that is not to be supported because it takes something away, and gives no freedom in return. It is quite obvious that if the consideration of these measures is to be approached in such a frame of mind, we shall be simply doing in our day what Eldon and Inglis did in theirs. I must say that it is not my idea of my stewardship, and I

think that if we do the same thing, after we have seen and deplored the consequences of their policy, we shall do it, not with the same, but with a far greater responsibility. Believe me affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Englefield House, March 19, 1863.

My dear Gladstone,—I cannot express to you the pain it gives me to differ from your conclusions in such a matter as this. I agree with all your general principles, and I think that in two signal instances, the Oxford University Bill and the Clergy Reserves, I have shown that no obloquy would prevent my acting on them in any case to which they seemed to me properly to apply. My doubt in this case is whether they do apply, and I must ask you to weigh those doubts well.

I admit that there is great force in your argument from the indemnity; and I am ready to admit that I was misinformed as to the attendance with the insignia of office at meetings. For, unless 5 Geo. I. cap. iv. is repealed, there is certainly a distinct prohibition of this in England. But there remains behind my main difficulty. I am ready (1) to surrender exclusive privileges for liberty; (2) I am ready to surrender them if they interfere with the legitimate use of liberties granted to others.

Now, I do not see that this declaration does any of these, nor is any liberty granted in exchange for the surrender. The Indemnity Act makes it easy for anyone having any scruple about the declaration to take his office without making it. But you argue the surrender is nothing, because of the Indemnity. Now, (1) if it *is* nothing, why is it so urgently sought for by a body professedly banded together to put an end to the union between Church and State. But (2) are they not right in thinking that it is something? For whilst it remains on the Statute-book it is a declaration that it is the will of the people of England that an Established Church should be maintained, though it opens all offices to

Dissenters from it. Now the loss incurred in taking away such a declaration which actually exists seems to me to be measurable, not by the difference of its existing or not existing (which, I admit, is very small), but by the difference between letting it continue and removing it, the removal being certain to be urged as a proof of the animus of the legislature being that holders of office *may*, with a clear conscience, use these office powers against the Establishment. You asked me when we spoke of this whether I could name one ministerial peer who would vote against the Bill. The matter came that very night into discussion at Stoke Park, Lord Taunton saying that he had declined moving it, and Lord Harrowby, not at all a High Churchman, argued warmly against it. To test my opinion I asked the Bishop of Salisbury what he thought of the question. I enclose (please to return it) his reply. Now, there can be no doubt, I think, that there ought to be some distinct right to be done to warrant a Bishop in shocking rudely the feelings of such men as these by seeming to them needlessly to play into the hands of men banded for the eventual overthrow of the Establishment. The difference between the policy of retaining this declaration and the old Eldon policy seems to me to be this: The Dissenters were then asking for equal civil rights and for the removal of tests injurious to their consciences. They are now professedly seeking not for freedom for themselves, but the abolition of the Establishment; wherever, therefore, they ask for what tends *only* to that, we are bound to refuse. These are the difficulties; I need hardly say I will anxiously weigh any answer to them. I am affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Cliveden, Maidenhead, March 21, 1863.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—It is with much misgiving that I reply to your letter, as I must do it in great haste, and I have not been able to examine the precise state of the law in the matter of Mr. Hadfield's Bill.

I will, however, begin with saying that I think the Bishop of Salisbury's statement is not to the point. The argument on which you and most opponents of the Bill appear to rely is this, that the Dissenters are banded together to destroy the Church. When I say, in answer to this, the Church is in no danger from Dissenters, my meaning is not that she may be safely delivered over into their hands, but that her members and those who wish her well have ample power to defend her. While I sit here writing to you I am in no danger from thieves, for they cannot get at me. This arrangement admits, as you will see, in the coarsest form the utmost ill-intention that can be imputed to Dissenters, and it seems to me sound in itself. I am ready to go even beyond it—the Church of England is in most serious danger from her own members, from her own intestine divisions. The presence of Dissenters in Parliament has been very useful to her, by its tendency particularly to repress these divisions and to check their development.

You do not diminish these real dangers by resistance to Hadfield's Bill and similar measures, but you tend rather to increase them; making common cause with all persons who, from the most mixed motives, uphold the Establishment rather than the Church, you contract an alliance with them, and all alliances are maintained on the principle of give and take among the allies. You strengthen them in the disposition they entertain, consistently on their principle, to depress the Church element within the Church, in order to avoid repelling those who are willing to fight, not for the Church, but for the Establishment. Nor is it thus only that you produce an injurious effect. In proportion as you insist upon retaining—I must say upon 'clutching'—every temporal prerogative, every assertion, in whatever form of rationality as such, you enhance the right and the disposition of the mixed mass of the community to say, This institution, which clings thus tenaciously to all legal preferences, and exacts a moral tribute from out of the very mouth of Dissenters, like the fish in the Gospel, as a condition of their holding office, must at least have her rough places made smooth and her mountains laid low within, that the nation, which by the uttermost of

her power she insists on possessing, may really possess her in return.

You are like a general in an enemy's country with a front more extended than he has force to maintain, but who says, No, I will not draw in this outlying corps and that, for I cannot content my enemy, and when my lines are contracted he will not be satisfied but will still look out for an opportunity of attacking them.

I pass to another point. The declaration contributes what I may call a point of sore contact with Dissenters. Every time it is tendered to them it arouses sectarian jealousies, presents the Church as demanding something of them, as endeavouring to narrow and restrain their freedom of action, and this in the form most of all offensive, namely, by words put into their own mouths. It is very wise to avoid fretting these sore places, and to let them heal. If you ask me whether I am prepared to act at all costs on this principle, I answer, No, no more than I am resolved never to blister my foot in a walk. It must depend on the object and necessity of the walk whether I ought to do it or not. I am not ready, for instance, to take away the Church-rate in our rural parishes, where Dissenters are few and other resources are small; but I do not doubt but that the abolition of the Church cess in Ireland, however disadvantageous in some points of view, has, on the whole, contributed very largely to the maintenance of the Established Church in that country; and further, what is more to the purpose, that the abolition or disuse of the Church-rate in many parishes in England has been for the relative advantage of the Church. It has removed an occasion of contact at a point which was sore and inflamed. Here we are called on to remove another, but at little or no cost at all.

The declaration constitutes an exceptional law and an exceptional security—so, indeed, is the Oath of Allegiance for the Crown. But the Crown is the symbol of the law, and to the Crown and its laws all are required to submit; these may belong or not belong to the Church, as it may chance to please them. I do not think the original framers of this declaration are to be blamed, but yet it may be doubted

whether they judged wisely, even then, in thinking that a Church wanting strength (and if it did not want strength, why give the offence?) could possibly obtain it by presenting herself before every entrant into office with a demand naturally irritating to a jealous mind.

The policy of this Church as an Establishment to my mind is plain. She should rest on her possessions and her powers, parting with none of them except for equivalents in another currency or upon full consideration of *pros* and *cons*; but, outside of these, she should avoid all points of sore contact with Dissenters. Each one of them is a point at which she, as a dead mass, rubs upon the living flesh, and stirs the hostility of its owner. It is no less due to her own interests to share them than it is to justice, as regards the Dissenter, to surrender these points, if surrender that is to be called which is so unmixedly to her advantage. I have been led into a wide field, and I am not able to cover it. There are many topics untouched. I do not feel my vote for Hadfield's Bill to be a concession to Dissenters at the expense of the Church; I feel it to be an act which would do good, all things considered, to the Church, as well as soothe the Dissenter. You say he will still attack. I reply, some will, but some will not; acts like these weaken the invading force. I have not dwelt on the practical *reductio ad absurdum* by the Act of Indemnity. I have not dwelt on the mischief inherent in self-interpreted declarations, where the meaning is (as, I think, must be admitted) anything but plain and obvious. As to carrying the insignia to worship (if not otherwise prohibited by law) it is a question of a mere handful of persons on a handful of occasions. I can join in disapproving it; I believe the public feeling would repress it; but it is in no case a matter such as to warrant the far-fetched resort of maintaining an invidious and irritating law of most doubtful application to it and if operative, operative only on the best. For Churchmen the declaration is little more than *zero*. For Dissenters I must say I think it most perplexing. I, the Baptist mayor of Muggletown, discharge my office with much dignity and state and attract the gaze of the gaping multitude; the Baptist Missionary Society holds

a meeting, and asks me to preside; my position and credit as mayor will be of great use, will draw 50*l.* instead of 20*l.*, and this is urged in the letter which solicits me. Am I to go? May I attend a meeting to promote the abolition of Church-rates? to ask for a charter to the London University (before it had one)? The whole affair is full of real conscience-traps, and men who fall into such traps deeply resent it against men who set them.

If you are to oppose this Bill, I am not sorry that you should do it in company with so good a man as Lord Harrowby; but are you sure that he will not himself in his own person, and soon, exemplify the justice of the argument in the former part of this letter?

Lastly, I cannot admit the difference between this policy and the policy of Eldon and Inglis, otherwise than as the difference between 1829 and 1863. Relatively (and this is the true test) it is the same, just as, if you were to travel backwards, we should associate the two whom I have named with other worthies in whose company they would be quite as much astonished to find themselves as you can be at hearing it imputed to you that you are likely to be morally and historically in theirs.

I have written long, but I am really very much in earnest. Believe me affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Bisham Abbey, March 29, 1863.

My dear Gladstone,—I feel so forcibly the weight of your argument that we should not obtrude needlessly our objections on the sore places of Dissenters that, looking at the effect of the Indemnity Act in depriving the affirmation of all real practical weight, I shall be ready not to oppose the Bill if I find it possible to bring the Church party and especially the Bishops to act together in that sense. I fear that this will not be easy—Lord Palmerston's wicked appointments meet us here at every turn[2]—to yield everything to a

[2] Writing to Mr. Gordon, February 22, the Bishop says: 'Palmerston nominated Baring for Canterbury and Waldegrave for York.'

Ministry which every sound Churchman feels insults the Church almost every time it has to recommend to the Crown for a Bishopric is exceedingly hard.

So far as I see at present, I do not think it would be right for me to support this Bill against a general Church opposition; but I will try to lead my brethren to take together the line that, as there is in this no real security to the Establishment, we are willing, as Dissenters feel it a burden on their consciences, to remove it. I cannot admit that we can take the general ground that our strength is in the affection of the people, not in the legal defences of an Establishment, for that seems to me to sacrifice our position. We might, on that showing, be the strongest *sect*, but I do not see how we could claim to be the national Church. I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

This Bill did not become law until 1865. It is evident, from the Bishop's diary for that year, that Mr. Gladstone's warm advocacy of the measure increased rather than decreased during the interval. The Bishop did not vote against the Bill, for the reason recorded in the diary, June 26 (1865): 'House of Lords on Oaths, paired to dine with Bishop of Gloucester, and back one minute too late—vexed thereat.'

On March 7 the Bishop went to Windsor Castle for the Prince of Wales's marriage, which took place on the 10th. The wedding, taking place as it did during the season of Lent, naturally led High Churchmen to ask themselves whether or not they ought to sanction by their presence the festivities that were universal on the occasion. Here is an extract from a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury from the Bishop, written in January.

I am *very* sorry for the time of the marriage, but everything possible has been done to get it changed, and in vain. I *think* the best thing now possible would be for the Arch-

bishop to write a letter, saying that, for high State reasons, that time having been thought necessary, he, as Archbishop, thinks it his duty to express that he, so far as it is lawful for him to do so, dispenses for that day with the Church's ordinary rule, in order that all may, without scruple, loyally devote it to rejoicing. This would turn the breach into a gain.

The Archbishop did not officially promulgate such a letter as the Bishop wished. The Bishop, therefore, in order to set at rest the minds of the clergy in his own Diocese, issued a letter to each of his Archdeacons :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archdeacon of ——.

Cuddesdon, March 4, 1863.

My dear Archdeacon,—Having been applied to by some of our brethren of the Clergy for advice as to their conduct on the day of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, I desire to convey to you my opinion that any rejoicing, to be real, must be manifested on the day of the wedding. The Lenten Fast was originally an appointment of the Church, with which the Archbishop of Canterbury had, and still has by law, a right to dispense ; and from the communications I have received from his Grace, I consider that he has dispensed with it for the auspicious day in question. I would, therefore, advise all, under present circumstances, heartily and without misgiving, to take part in the loyal rejoicings which befit this great occasion. I remain, my dear Archdeacon, yours very truly,

S. OXON.

This official letter did not set at rest the minds of all the clergy, and the Bishop accordingly had sometimes to explain more fully to private correspondents what his opinion was as to the Archiepiscopal power of dispensation :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

Stoke Park, Slough, March 10, 1863.

My dear ——I am very sorry that you take the view you express in your letter. Sorry every way: first, because it grieves me to differ from you; and next, because I am convinced that your view lies at the root of our neglect of holy seasons and that there can be no amendment whilst it is maintained.

1. You question the Archbishop's *power* to dispense. I reply it was a power always inherent in patriarchs—exercised down to the Reformation amongst us by the Pope, transferred by the Statute of Henry VIII. to the Archbishop of Canterbury and constantly exercised by him. I have myself in my muniment box at Lavington such a dispensation to one of my predecessors in that property, granted by Archbishop Laud. I contend therefore that by Church usage, statute law and custom the Archbishop of Canterbury *has this power.* But (2), I maintain that it is impossible to maintain such ecclesiastical commands unless the power of dispensation is maintained. God's law cannot under circumstances of any urgency be set aside; therefore, without any dispensing power, it may be simply enforced. The rules of the Church are for edification; they are binding on us, not of moral necessity, but because they are commanded. There *must* therefore be times when they cannot be enforced—*e.g.* fasting *must* be suspended for health. Now if the Church drops her dispensing power the result is that everyone dispenses for himself and universal anarchy is the consequence. This is the state we have reached, nor can we ever escape from it but by the law being enforced by the open assumption by authority of the duty and power of dispensing with it on fit occasions. Then the undispensed are bound, because the dispensed are released. I hardly know anything which, in my judgment, could so much have *restored* the observance of Lent as a bold and open dispensation of these days uttered by the Archbishop and declared by the clergy. What I did was the nearest approach to this I could obtain. I am most truly yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop's diary gives some particulars of his visit to Windsor:—

March 8.—(Sunday.) Up in good time; breakfast, 9.30. Then chapel at 10. I on Round Tower after, not clear. Preached, and got on as to voice,[3] &c., *D.G.*: all seemed very attentive and impressed and pleased. Saw the Queen in the afternoon and had much talk with her; always the Prince—expecting him in old places. Large dinner; after, presented to the Princess Alexandra; she *very* pleasing—such a countenance, mien, demeanour and conversation!

March 9.—Morning, chapel. Rode to Ascot; luncheon in the Oak Room; saw the presents; met the Archbishop, and about with him. Then to Stoke Park. Lords Granville, Harrowby, Lord and Lady Carmarthen, C. Howard, Cavendish girls, &c.; all very pleasant, as always, here.

March 10.—Up early. After breakfast, to Windsor Castle; the wedding; able a little to pray for them; all most pleasant and successful. Home to Stoke Park.

The Bishop further describes the wedding:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Englefield House, Reading, March 21, 1863.

My dearest Anderson,—The wedding was certainly the most moving sight I ever saw. The Queen above looking down added such a wonderful chord of deep feeling to all the lighter notes of joyfulness and show. Everyone behaved quite at their best. The Princess of Wales calm, feeling, self-possessed. The Prince with more depth of manner than ever before. Princess Mary's entrance was grand. The little Prince William of Prussia, between his two little uncles to keep him quiet, both of whom he—the Crown Princess told me—bit on the bare Highland legs whenever they touched him to keep him quiet. I had a nice long talk with the Queen. I was charmed with the Prince of Prussia, and the warmth of his expressions as to wife. 'Bishop,' he

[3] The Bishop had been for some time very ill, and was only just recovered; he had only taken one Confirmation, that at Shrivenham on March 7, for some days.

said, 'with me it has been one long honeymoon.' I have been laid up here two days with sore throat, but hope to get to work to-morrow. My love to all. Your very affectionate

S. OXON.

An article in 'The Times,' in the beginning of May, criticised the Bishop's University Sermons just published. The Reviewer sketched the possible experience of a typical undergraduate placed in the way of doubts. This article evoked a reply[4] from an Oxford undergraduate who, whether he was typical or not, represented the feelings of a considerable number of the undergraduates. It is valuable because it came from one of those to whom these very sermons were addressed and who described himself as in sympathy with 'free inquiry;' it shows how great was the Bishop's influence over these young men. The letter is too long to quote fully but the conclusion should be given. After saying that he and others who went to hear the sermon had no personal knowledge of the Bishop and expected to hear him steer between conflicting opinions,[5] the writer says:—

> Let it suffice to say it was by the Bishop of Oxford that we were led to feel that reverence must go hand in hand with knowledge, in order that the true harmony may exist between mind and soul, that a man's reason and judgment alone are a poor support and comfort and that the kingdom of God *must* be received in the spirit of a little child.

May 14.—(Ascension Day.) Morning, letters. Bishop of Montreal; with him to Chapel Royal. A good sermon from Bishop of London, and a nice Communion: God gave me power to feel. Wrote after. Little ride and with Bishop of London to Lambeth. Large gathering. I got the Bishops of London and Winchester to propose and second restoring

[4] The *Times*, May 5, 1863.

[5] This particular sermon was on *Essays and Reviews*.

the Holy Thursday Communion.[6] All the happier for not appearing. Bishop of Winchester kind.

May 21.—Convocation breakfast. Then Ecclesiastical Commission. At sermon for Oxford. Visited Lord Lyndhurst—bright, cheerful, busy; specially occupied about religious reading; clear in faith; Colenso's doubts no shake to him.

June 16.—(Cuddesdon). Meant to ride with Hubbard to the Culham station for address, but rain hindered. Drove on to Oxford. In the tent at Christ Church. Then luncheon—Stanley's. Then theatre for Prince's degree. Lord Derby's wonderful Latin speech. Then wrote, and dinner at Christ Church; no speeches, to my great relief, who had to speak. Out to Cuddesdon.

June 17.—In early to Oxford. Theatre. Luncheon at All Souls. Then wrote many letters. The boats—a beautiful scene. Exeter dinner. Home at night with Archbishop of Armagh and Walpole. The Archbishop's account of Irishman who said, 'I don't know how to account for the Roman Catholics being so much more numerous than the Protestants, when we are told that they went two and two into the ark.'

June 24.—With Middleton to Grantham. Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon and Vicar on platform. To working-sheds, and addressed the men on not being moulded by circumstances. To Deanery, and letters.

June 29.—(Sarsden.) Early. After breakfast rode with Barter and Luccock to Long Compton; great gathering of clergy and others—preached on Rev. xviii. 1. Cordial welcome. With Claughton and Wheelers to Worcester and Hereford. Kindly received at Palace. Visited Cathedral after dinner.

June 30.—(Hereford.) Up early. Communion at 8; fairly attended, but all muddled and wrong in the celebration. Old Huntingford said by Ousely to be the only canon knowing anything of ritual, and he not taking part. Bishop (Hampden) preached a dull but thoroughly orthodox sermon. Congregation grand; organ too loud. I preached evening; great congregation, and much interested. Dined at Dean's.

[6] At the Bishops' annual meeting on this day.

The Bishop wrote a long letter to Mr. Gordon in June. He was at the time Governor of New Brunswick. After giving him the home news, the Bishop says:—

I devoured Kinglake's book when it came out. It has certainly the merit of a very picturesque style—a sort of modified Carlyle panorama painting. But I do not think it can claim to be history, or to live as such. The account of the Paris *émeute* and all the sketch of Louis Napoleon, with the imputations of personal cowardice, &c., are really only the gathered calumnies with which we have been familiar in the journals of Senior. The Emperor's remark upon it when he read it is the best thing I have heard of him. It was simply, 'C'est ignoble.' I think with you that the idea of the war coming from him and Palmerston is very true. That wretched Pam seems to me to get worse and worse. There is not a particle of veracity or noble feeling that I have ever been able to trace in him. He manages the House of Commons by debauching it, making all parties laugh at one another—the Tories at the Liberals by his defeating all Liberal measures, the Liberals at the Tories by their consciousness of getting everything that is to be got in Church and State, and all at one another by substituting low ribaldry for argument, bad jokes for principle and an openly avowed vainglorious imbecile vanity as a panoply to guard himself from the attacks of all thoughtful men. I think if his life lasts long it must cost us the slight remains of constitutional government which exist amongst us.

July 11.—Up very early. Prepared sermon on 'What is truth?' Many letters with Archdeacon and Fosbery. Then London; letters, &c. &c. &c. Then dined—Sir R. Peel, Lord Derby, &c.; Sir R. Peel straightforward, open, curious talk. Lord Carlisle bent on making Fitz-Gerald primate. What I had said to Lady Emily made Beresford; but upset unless Sir R. had come back on private business from Switzerland. And then about making Trench next Archbishop of Dublin.

July 16.—Wellington College. Up early and finished sermon. Early Communion; then the governors arrived. Service

and preached, and walked, talking with clergy till tired out. To Fir Grove—all most hearty. Archdeacon Randall, Kingsleys, and self—Kingsley very good company: spoke strongly as sound believer.

The Bishop took his autumn holiday this year in August, going to Switzerland. Of the many short but descriptive entries in his diary during this trip one will suffice :—

August 22.—Off, after breakfast, with E. and F. &c., to Lauterbrunn, and up to Mürren ; as we reached the top, the mist which had veiled the Jungfrau suddenly opened and we saw high in heaven the Silberhorn, and then the top. Just such a sight of glory as made my blessed wife in 1828 seize my hand and say, 'Can that be earth?' A very happy day on the heights. Walked down to Interlaken to supper.

In September the Bishop returned to England and on the 3rd of that month he preached at Bristol, attended and spoke at meetings there, &c. In October he was in the north at York, preaching and holding meetings for the S.P.G. and on his way back paid a visit to the Speaker at Ossington where a large party was assembled.

October 17.—Rode with Speaker round the Forest. Thoresby and Clumber ; quite delightful ; in the evening a good deal of political talk with Cardwell ; he anticipating the highest for Gladstone. He said : 'The Duke of Wellington was always jealous of Peel. I now anticipate that Gladstone will be Premier. Neither party has any leader. I hope that Gladstone may get support from the Conservatives who now support Palmerston. Palmerston specially well and young.'

A few days after, the Bishop met Mr. Gladstone and he records : 'Long talk with Gladstone as to Premiership, he for acting under John Russell!!!'

On September 23, the Bishop made the following speech at the distribution of diplomas and honorary certificates to successful candidates of Oxford local examinations, at Brighton:—

Such examinations as these are a sort of great anti-cramming plan. Many of you, my young friends, will at once think of the word that rhymes with cram; every boy who obtains success by such a means is nothing more than a sham. Cramming is putting into the mind what it cannot digest, making it preternaturally fat, poisoning it or killing it in some other way. I never knew good come of it but I have seen many minds fatally injured by it. That which you can take into your minds and make part of yourselves will be so much the better for you; but that which you only take in to reproduce whole and undigested will neither do you nor any-one else the least good. The real good of these examinations is the doing away with cramming, like taking a crammed fowl's crop and giving it a good squeeze, which detects the crammer, and relieves the fowl. They may have had a good squeeze at the time but they will feel a good deal better afterwards and it will be a great lesson to crammers, who will find all their cramming materials exposed and of no avail.

In November the Bishop delivered his triennial Charge at Aylesbury and Reading. Previous to its delivery he had sent a list of questions to all the incumbents in the diocese, one of which questions related to the hindrances they experienced in their parish work. The Charge, after recapitulating the work of the diocese, the progress made and the losses sustained during the last three years, touched on the hindrances which had been alleged in the answers sent by the Clergy, which fell under three heads, Dissent, bad cottages, and beershops. On these hindrances the Bishop advised his clergy. The Bishop himself did not state

that Dissent was a hindrance to the work of the Church, nor did he, as some people imagined, class Dissenters and beershops together as hindrances.[7] He advised his clergy as to the way in which they should deal with what they in these answers had stated to him were hindrances to their work. His own words on the subject are :—

We need not be contentious. God forbid that we should be uncharitable in our mode of stating the truth according to the principles of our Church, but the truth we must state. We have no right to withhold it from adults or to send out children from our schools unfurnished with sound principles on this any more than on other religious subjects. These children are quite sure to meet with contrary pretensions and how can we expect them to be discriminating and steadfast unless we have taught them on these as well as on other matters the whole truth of God. Depend upon it, a thoroughly distinctive teaching of our doctrines, free from all attack on others, is to be here our people's safeguard.

Upon another hindrance to the ministry, namely, the great want of lay co-operation, the Bishop gives

[7] The following is a letter from the Bishop to a Suffolk clergyman, who had heard that the Bishop in this Charge had given offence to the Nonconformists by placing their meeting-houses in the same category with beershops. The letter was written a year later :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ———.

October 29, 1864.

My dear Sir,—I am much obliged by your very kind note. No misrepresentation could be more complete, as the Reading Dissenters allowed, than that referred to. In my Charge I said that in answer to the question, 'What have been the hindrances to your ministry?' many of the clergy had returned 'beershops,' 'insufficient cottages,' and a hindrance of a widely different nature, 'the interruption of their efforts by the presence of Dissent.' It would be wholly alien to my nature to insult conscientious men who differed from me. I am very truly yours,

S. OXON.

You may like to know that the great Dissenting light, Newman Hall, wrote to me that there was nothing in my Charge which lacked courtesy to the Nonconformists.

this advice: 'There is no doubt, my Reverend brethren, that in too many of our parishes we do stand far too much alone in our work and that what above all outward aid we need is the enlisting more of the resident laity as our advisers and active assistants.' The Charge then dealt at great length and exhaustively with the matters which were then prominently before Churchmen, the development of the Pantheistic theory and the Inspiration of the Bible. The Charge concluded with advice on preaching, the value of which may in some degree be inferred from the following epitome. The Bishop said: 'I would offer suggestions to my younger brethren in the ministry. Settle thoroughly in your minds the greatness of what you have to do. Never mount the pulpit without having your whole spirit awed by this thought—you are to speak for God to men. The preparation for the work of preaching must be habitual and immediate. Habitual, that the mind may be full of the subject, without which we soon degenerate into narrow, technical and frigid statements of the noblest truths, and also that accuracy may be obtained. Loose, inaccurate declarations of God's truth make preachers of the Word unawares the slayers of souls. Immediate preparation. Prayer. Patient labour to secure for our discourses depth, solidity, and order. It is mainly idleness which ruins sermons, which makes them vague, confused, powerless and dull. Remember the somewhat caustic words: "The sermon which has cost little is worth just what it cost." Never preach habitually the sermons of others, whether taken in mass or in fragments, mechanically re-arranged into a composite whole. Nothing short of incapacity can excuse this as an habitual practice, and then its use and its cause should be avowed with an humble shamefacedness which will preach for the unfurnished man.

The practice of reading some full discourses of others on the subject on which you are about to preach is widely different, and is a most useful course.

'To secure thought and preparation begin, whenever it is possible, the next Sunday's sermon at least on the preceding Monday. Choose the subject according to your people's need and your power. Let it be as much as possible resolvable into a single proposition. Having chosen the subject, meditate upon it as deeply as you can. Consider, first, how to state correctly the theological formula which it involves; then how to arrange its parts so as to convince the hearer's understanding. Think, next, how you can move his affections, and so win his will to accept it. See into what practical conclusions of holy living you can sum it up. Having thus the whole before you, you may proceed to its actual composition. And in doing this, if any thoughts strike you with peculiar power, secure them at once. Do not wait till, having written or composed all the rest, you come in order to them: such burning thoughts burn out. Fix them whilst you can. I would say never, if you can help it, compose except with a fervent spirit; whatever is languidly composed is lifelessly received. Rather stop and try whether reading, meditation and prayer will not quicken the spirit, than drive on heavily when the chariot wheels are taken off. So the mighty masters of our art have done. Bossuet never set himself to compose his great sermons without first reading chapters of Isaiah and portions of Gregory Nazianzen, to kindle his own spirit. In some such way set yourself to compose and, until you have preached for many years I would say, to write, at least one sermon weekly. Study with especial care all statements of doctrine; to be clear, particular and accurate. Do

not labour too much to give too great ornament or polish to your sermons. They often lose their strength in such refining processes. Having written them, if you *must* deliver them with the manuscript before you, strive to do it as little as if you were reading and as much as if you were speaking them as possible. Do not be the slave of your manuscript but make it your servant. If you see that a word is not understood, vary it; that an appeal is reaching some heart, press it home. If you have the gift, after having written your sermon carefully, make short notes of it and preach from these. This will help you greatly to show in your manner that you feel what you say, the first and chiefest rule for making it felt by others.'

An Oxford clergyman says: 'I remember being in a position enabling me to command the pulpit while the Bishop was preaching to a congregation in which were a number of clergy. I was able, from where I was sitting, to see the MS. which the Bishop had before him and the leaves of which he occasionally turned; but I noticed that the MS. was upside down. When the service was ended, I asked the Bishop why he had preached with a MS. upside down before him, he answered with a smile: "For the benefit of the younger clergy."' And then added more seriously: 'I am afraid of their beginning to preach extempore before they are able to do so with advantage to their hearers. I myself preached written sermons for fifteen years after my ordination.' It is an interesting and characteristic fact that one of the greatest of the Bishop's University sermons was preached from no other note than the single word 'Fog' written on the back of an envelope; and the writer of these pages perfectly remembers coming one day into the study at Lavington to ask the Bishop if he could be of any help, and being

told, 'No, because I am trying to think what I said at Oxford ten days ago, when I preached two sermons which I have been requested so earnestly to publish that I cannot refuse; and I have not a notion what I said.'[8]

Indeed the Bishop's great readiness could not but make his example a dangerous one to be imitated by men of inferior capacity. On one occasion he had undertaken to preach a course of sermons, before the Ordination, in the chapel at Cuddesdon College and had desired the Vice-Principal to suggest the subjects three months before 'that he might have time for preparation;' this direction was complied with and on the evening of the day when the course was to begin the Bishop arrived from London by a train which just brought him in time for service. On the Vice-Principal's going to meet him at the Palace, where the Bishop was hastily getting rid of his travelling cloak and making ready for the chapel, 'By the by,' said the Bishop, 'my dear ——, was there any subject in particular on which you wished me to speak this evening?' The Vice-Principal's heart sank within him, and he reminded the Bishop of the course of sermons which had been suggested, at his own desire, three months before. By this time they had reached the chapel, and the service began. The sermon which the Bishop preached, on a somewhat difficult and delicate subject, would not have led any of his hearers to suspect that it had not been a subject of anxious thought for many weeks or months.[9]

In these later years of the Bishop's episcopate he

[8] The recollections came, as the sermons were published and no exception taken to them, although ten days had elapsed since the delivery, and a short-hand writer had, as the Bishop saw, followed him in one of the sermons throughout.

[9] Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Liddon.

seldom wrote a sermon, the pressure of work was so great that for writing there was no time; the Diary always records such an event as writing a whole sermon. It is however worthy of record that scarcely ever did the Bishop, habituated as he was to preaching, preach an unprepared sermon; occasionally the Diary furnishes an instance such as 'Very nervous because sermon was unprepared;' and in one of these rare instances where such a record exists the congregation to whom he was preaching was a small ordinary village congregation in a purely agricultural district.

Writing to Mr. Gordon the Bishop gives an account of some of the principal events of the year and fitly ends this chapter:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. Arthur Gordon.

Up-park, Petersfield, December 10, 1863.

My dearest Arthur,—Yours of Nov. 23 reached me yesterday. Your former most interesting and welcome letter reached me duly and to it I should have replied, but I listened to the rumour that you were on your route homeward and I thought my answer would miss you, and so, with the ready self-excusing of a very busy man, I too easily persuaded myself that it would be no use writing then. Many thanks for yesterday's letter—very interesting throughout. The canoe expeditions must be absolutely delightful; how I should enjoy them, and the sitting with you, and hearing the low hum of the Indian tales at night. It has been an interesting year with me. First, Ernest's marriage,[1] which seems a really happy one and has brought a beam of sunlight into my so long shadowed house. God be praised for it! Then rather severe illness and, partly to recruit from it, partly to share my children's honeymoon, a trip to Switzerland—Zermatt and the Æggis Horn being new to me. After a little I

[1] To Frances Mary, third daughter of Sir Charles Anderson, Bart. She died 1870.

enjoyed it very much and it most undoubtedly sent me home vastly stronger. Then my visitation, only just accomplished, after six weeks of harder and more continuous work than I have ever tried.

I have come out now for a few days' change. I went on Monday to Lord Stanhope's, at Chevening. Party—Lord and Lady Hardinge, both of whom I like; Sir E. Head, my old college companion and, as you know, with not a little to say for himself; Cardwell and Mrs.; he too is very much unchanged — the same meditative, introverted, susceptible spirit ever at work; then Gibbs and the F. Barings completed a pleasant party. I do not think that there is here any expectation of war, though the needless rudeness of Lord Russell's refusal of the Congress must sorely have annoyed our 'Great Ally.' Hayward says that Lord Palmerston is far better this year than last: 'Last year I could beat him at billiards but this year he plays so much better a game that he beat me easily.' If we were sitting under that beech tree at Lavington I might whisper to you . . . of the curious under-history of Trench's appointment to the archbishopric with which neither Palmerston or Lord Carlisle can claim authorship—indeed, Carlisle told Trench he had done all in his power to secure Fitzgerald's appointment. . . . The one real evil in our view is what you touch upon—the decay of faith. Newman wrote lately about it to Isaac Williams, saying, 'We can do nothing against it; it all rests with your Church. You have still a mighty power of resisting it, if you will use it.' There is certainly on the other side a great and marked growth of faith. I do not think that Renan's book will do much harm; it *is* a sign of the temper of which I speak, but it is so simply Ebionite that I do not anticipate its at all strongly affecting the current of thought: I would almost hope that for us as showing whither if yielded to, the tempest would drive us, it may be rather establishing than uprooting. I have great fears of Stanley; it seems to me that, charming as he is, he is drifting farther and farther from all positive belief. . . .

I wish I could be a 'fish-hawk' with you along those rivers. I have delighted in angling in my day and would

gladly change for awhile with 'the slayer of the red-toothed one,' for a little of your company. Sir H. Holland, who got back safe from all his American rambles, has been taken by Palmerston through the river at Broadlands and been very ill. The Dean of Lincoln (Garnier) is just dead and another deanery, for Palmerston to abuse, vacant. All seem coming to the conclusion that Gladstone is the next real chief, either as nominal or as leading the Commons. I want him to insist on the first post. The Duke of Newcastle very ill, and many rumours of retiring—heart palpitation, &c. Dearest Arthur, here is a real budget of home news, to end in the assurance that you are ever very dear to your very affectionate

S. OXON.

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CHAPTER IV.

(1861–1866.)

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEAL WITH MR. GLADSTONE—LETTER TO LORD WESTBURY—DISCUSSION ON SUPREME COURT BY THE BISHOPS—BISHOP COLENSO'S FIRST BOOK—MEETING OF BISHOPS — LETTER TO BISHOP COLENSO — SECOND MEETING OF BISHOPS — RESOLUTION TO INHIBIT—THIRD MEETING OF BISHOPS—JOINT LETTER TO BISHOP COLENSO—BISHOP GRAY'S PLAN OF ACTION—DRAFT FORM OF EXCOMMUNICATION—LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN—LETTER ON THE JUDGMENT — LETTER ON EXCOMMUNICATION — MR. KEBLE'S OPINION.

A CORRESPONDENCE between the Bishop and Mr. Gladstone, which began in 1861, shows what they at that time considered would be a solution of the question as to a Supreme Court of Appeal. The scheme differs materially from Bishop Blomfield's Bill of 1850. It was then proposed to make the whole Episcopal body a Board of Reference, whereas the more recent scheme limited the number of referees, and it included the Irish Church. As has been already shown,[1] the Bishop's great aim was to remove the spiritual element from the Judicial Committee. This particular result was not to be attained at that time, as owing to various causes—one of them a want of unanimity on the part of the Episcopate—the proposed scheme was abandoned. An entry in the Diary on June 21 shows however that the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the Archbishop of York, had approved of the proposal.

[1] Vol. ii.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Jan. 7, 1861.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—I should much like to know whether you expect to be in town before the meeting of Parliament, and if so on what day or days. I wish particularly to speak to you about a Court of Appeal. There might possibly, I think, be an opportunity in conjunction with the Irish Registries Bill of proposing something of the kind which I think you incline to, viz.: an Episcopal Jury of referees.

Cardwell says, and truly, that his Bill of last year was *de facto* adopted, as far as the public knew, by three successive Governments, and that it is hardly likely the subject will be allowed to sleep.

It might be well to advise him to separate what relates to Registries from what relates to the Court of Appeal. Indeed, it would be necessary if the latter measure is to be English as well as Irish.

The latter subject is in itself proper for the notice of Convocation and has been fairly presented, so as to challenge such notice, by the Bill of last and former years. If notice could be taken, and could be in the direction favourable to a plan which the Government also might adopt, a good thing would have been done. At the same time, though I could not resist (*per se*) I do not *desire* an united Court of Appeal. I am here till the end of the week. Ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon, January 9, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—I am to be in town Feb. 1, to meet the Archbishops and Bishops in consultation. I rather hope to meet you at Witley Court on the 24th; at least Lord Dudley has baited his hook for me with the promise. Certainly nothing could be more important than such a move

as you suggest. Would Convocation or the meeting of the Bishops be the best body for such a discussion? It is so difficult, in the short time for which Convocation sits, to get the Lower House to come to any conclusion. As to the point of *what* the Court of Appeal should be, I foresee infinite difficulty. The first and great object is to get the Bishops off the Privy Council on these appeals. Their presence there gives to the Court the look of an Ecclesiastical Court and so commits us. I would, if we can get nothing more, far rather simply get rid of them thence than have them there. The only other plan is, doubtless, to let the Court send *issues* to be replied upon. If we could limit this to the Archbishop and Bishops or some of them of the Canterbury Province, it would be far the best arrangement which *I* have ever yet had before me. Will you turn your own thoughts to the *what* we can suggest? Heartily wishing you and all yours every New Year's blessing, I am affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hawarden, Jan. 11, 1861.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—What would you say to such a scheme as the following, it being borne in mind that the unwise proposal to establish one Court of Appeal for the two Churches is taken for granted in it?

A Court or body to be formed which is to report its judgment on any question of doctrine or discipline for the better information of the Court of Appeal, without prejudice to the prerogative or discretion of the Crown.

There are four Provinces which may be roughly described as follows in regard to sees, clergy and people:—

	Bishops	Clergy	Laity
Canterbury . .	20	12,000?	10,000,000?
York . . .	8	4,000?	4,000,000?
Armagh . .	6?	2,000	1,000,000
Dublin . .	6?		

It is assumed that the Colonial Churches cannot be represented in this Court.

Let Canterbury be represented by

Archbishop		In all seven
Bishop of London		
The two Senior Bishops		
Two Bishops chosen by all the comprovincials		
York, by Archbishop		three
Two Senior Bishops		
Armagh, Dublin, by two Archbishops		two
Total		twelve

If either of the Irish Archbishops be the person appealed against, then the Bishop of Meath to sit in his place.

But, by a scheme like this, twenty-eight Bishops out of forty are excluded. The Convocations of the respective provinces, it would seem, ought to be parties to it by address or otherwise. This is a great difficulty. But if Canterbury led the way, York would probably follow and, I take it, the Irish would be too happy to come in on any terms.

Another difficulty would remain in the discrepancies of law; but this might be dealt with at an aftertime, the rule in our time being, as to all Church matters, to put the cart before the horse. Yours affectionately,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Cuddesdon Palace, Jan. 16, 1861.

My dear Gladstone,—The only alteration I would propose in your body of Referee Bishops is that for the Province of York I would have the senior and *one* elected. I think it would be very useful to move this matter in our upper House if I could do it with an assurance of the Government accepting it. The form which I think would be the best to take would be that of an address to the Queen praying Her Majesty, in the event of any legislation, to take into her Royal consideration such a plan. If I might mention in confidence to the Archbishop and one or two more that if such an address were

presented it would be favourably received I think I should be able to carry it. Could you so manage that any such assurance could be in my hands? If *not*, I will still make the attempt if you think it well. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

March 21, 1862.

My dear Gladstone,—I found the Bishop of London unwilling to postpone absolutely; I therefore suggested and carried the second course you recommended. We wrote a joint letter to the Lord Chancellor pointing out the difference between the amending the Clergy Discipline Bill as we had *unanimously* agreed to do, and passing a new Act which must deal with the Court of Final Appeal, the relations of the Irish Church, &c. We therefore desired, as this most important alteration had been introduced into it, to have a fresh consultation with him at which we thought it desirable, if possible, to have also the help of the Home Secretary and the head of the Government; and as Wednesday next would be the most convenient day to us we would, to save time, send copies of this communication at once to Sir G. Grey and Lord Palmerston. Thus the matter is now brought regularly under their notice. But now I want you to weigh this. If out of this move we could educe a real amendment of the Court of Final Appeal, and at the same time guard ourselves against the always imminent danger of having, by either Government, the Irish Bishops put on the English Privy Council and made the actual deciders of our doctrine, we should indeed have done a great thing. I inclose you a clause for your consideration which would, I believe, work, which would provide a common Court of Appeal for both branches and which would be a great improvement on the existing law. Will you consider it and, if you see fit, move in it? I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Downing Street, March 24, 1862.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—Though I do not anticipate any advantage to the Church of England from bringing into close association with it a body which is inferior to it in tone, learning and practical power, yet we must not wholly overlook the benefit to the other party, and I for one am not prepared to object, *in limine*, to any proposition having such a view which does not reopen by new *civil* recognitions the formidable question of the political *status* of the Irish Church.

When Cardwell was Secretary for Ireland I recommended to him, as the basis of a plan (if a plan must be had), the leading suggestions contained in the draft you have sent me. Putting Ireland out of view, of which I have already spoken, I think if you can settle the vexed question of appeal on this reasonable and constitutional basis you will do well.

Much will depend on the great potentate of the House of Lords but possibly you may, from former transactions, have some inkling of his views.

I will now offer various remarks on the draft, but they are all, as you will see, *in furtherance* of its purpose.

1. Constitute these Episcopal Referees into a body; make them not plural, but singular, by calling them a Court, committee, or—perhaps better—a Board. It is only as a body, not as individuals, that they can have any good title.

2. Whatever else happens, strike out 'or if they do not agree, their several opinions,' and again twice 'or opinions.' To me this seems objectionable, and almost to destroy the whole merit of the plan. It would be far better that the Court should simply throw overboard the opinion of the whole than that it should pretend, and be authorised to pretend, to act as umpire between parts. The majority is, *de jure*, the whole, and the president, without reference to his own individual opinion, would subscribe or a seal might be affixed, for the whole.

3. I am doubtful about the assignment of reasons. If they are given they are given to be debated. Now, the

opinion contemplated is, in everything but its being binding, a verdict; it is upon a matter exclusively committed to those who deliver it and I am afraid the reasons would weaken the authority; in many cases, too, the reasons would amount, or ought to amount, to a theological treatise.

4. It would, I apprehend, be more regular to say, 'shall report' them, 'shall recommend such judgment'—but perhaps this has been examined, and I speak subject to correction.

5. In lieu of six and three two's I would recommend five, two and two ones. Also, would it not be right that the Bishop of London should be one *ex officio*?

My reasons for the reduction are (*a*) it makes a rather more manageable body, thirteen for sixteen; (*b*) it gives a fairer proportion, on the whole, to Canterbury as compared with the whole ($\frac{6}{13}$ instead of $\frac{7}{16}$); to York, as compared with Canterbury ($\frac{3}{6}$ instead of $\frac{3}{7}$)—for we must not, I think, overlook the numbers of clergy and lay people represented; above all, of England as compared with Ireland. It must be understood that $\frac{6}{16}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$ of the tribunal should be supplied, not only by $\frac{2}{40}$ or $\frac{3}{10}$ of the episcopate, but by perhaps $\frac{1}{12}$ of the clergy and $\frac{1}{20}$ of the laity.

The only part of my reduction I do not feel clear about is the diminution of one for Canterbury.

Four out of thirteen or fourteen would be a *very* large allowance for Ireland—as large as decency would permit.

6. Why not simply provide that five shall be a quorum?

7. If the Archbishop or Bishop of the highest rank is to preside, must there not be some further specification of the respective ranks? I return your inclosure, and remain affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.[2]

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Stoke Park, March 25, 1862.

My dear Gladstone,—We have altered the clauses according to your suggestion, *except* not putting the Bishop of London officially on the Board. I do not think it would do to put

[2] For the Scheme see Appendix A.

him on, and to leave Durham off it, or to put on London and Durham and leave out Winchester. I have *not* spoken to Lord Derby on the subject, but I will take an opportunity of doing so. I have heard nothing yet as to whether we are to have our interview with Lord Palmerston, Sir G. Grey and the Chancellor. Could the Government or Sir R. Palmer be in any way favourably impressed as to this measure? I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

Lord Westbury, at that time Chancellor, was opposed to any change in the Court of Appeal. In writing to him the Bishop discusses the subject from a somewhat wider point of view.

June 27, 1863.

The latter part of your letter fills me with dismay. I should quite have expected that having to preside at that most anomalous Court would convince one of so clear an intuition and so masterly an intellect that it was an intolerable mixture of iron and clay (I do not distribute the predicates). But you will pardon me if I maintain that all I have asked in altering the Court is the creating no *imperium in imperio*, but is simply necessary to give entire efficiency to the working of the purely legal court. I propose, not that the ecclesiastics should be asked how the Church is to decide, but that whenever a question of the Divine law is involved in the decision the ecclesiastics should be asked what is the doctrine of the Church of England on that question. The *fact* of this answer would satisfy the Church that her *doctrines* remained intact under the legal decision, *e.g.* in the Gorham case the lawyer would still, it may be, have decided that Mr. Gorham's book did not so categorically contradict the formularies and articles as to subject him to deprivation. But with this would have gone out the ecclesiastical answer that the Church of England taught that every rightly baptised infant was regenerate, and this would have saved us from the great schism under which we have ever since languished. But my dismay is for the present.

If, *constituted as it now is*, with its mischievous semblance

of being 'a Court Christian,' the Committee of Council advise Her Majesty to reverse the sentence of the Court below 'actum est de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ.' I admit all the folly and self-contradiction and ignorant arrogance of Dr. Lushington's judgment; and yet I maintain that, whilst casting out the plainest grounds of condemnation and retaining and *straining* the weakest—enough remains to condemn both of these *misty* men, on the simplest *legal* grounds, to the common sentence of mistiness—that they, in their period of suspension, must wait till the sun shines on them before they publicly teach; and I am sadly convinced that if this be not done, it will not be that the reasonable liberty of thought, for which I am deeply solicitous, and for which you plead, will be preserved to the Church of England; but that, on the other hand, her faithful members will receive a blow which will send a multitude more to Rome, and, on the other side, that her own belief will be most deeply endangered. May God avert such a blow from us!

The proposed alteration of the Supreme Court of Appeal received the support of the venerable Bishop of Exeter, among others, who said, 'I decidedly prefer abandoning the Court to the lawyers, if thereby we can secure a reference of doctrinal questions to the Church.' Of the ecclesiastical lawyers, both Sir R. Phillimore and Dr. A. J. Stephens approved the scheme; the latter recommended the principle of the proposed Court of Reference to the Irish Prelates.

In 1864 Mr. Gladstone, who had approved of the constitution of a Board of Reference in 1862, changed his opinion. He proposed that the Judicial Committee should be strengthened. He proposed to add the Bishop of Winchester to the Court as a permanent member, and farther to summon as assessors for a Canterbury case two Bishops of the province, chosen by the episcopate of the province; in a York case, one Bishop similarly elected; and in

an Armagh or Dublin case, the Archbishop of the See. The principle of this proposal could not be accepted by the Bishop, as it would have left the Judicial Committee a mixed court of lawyers and divines, which was the very thing the Bishop desired to change. Although the Archbishop of Canterbury and many of the bishops were favourable to the Bishop's proposal, the bench was far from unanimous, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London being the leaders of the opposition. From the Bishop's notes of a discussion which took place in February 1865, it appears that their opposition was based on the following grounds: that the moving for a new Court would seem at the present time to be a censure of the late judgment,[3] the Bishop of London going so far as to say that it would be a censure on himself, also that the decision of the spiritual element might be ignored by the lay judges or that it might be not unanimous, and that in the Court, as at present constituted, whenever the three spiritual judges did agree, the Law Lords would yield to their decision.

The diary for the day records as follows:—

February 10.—To Lambeth by a quarter to eleven. Long discussion on Court of Appeal, ending with Archbishop of York's great wrath about my answer to his saying; 'It does not hurt you or me.'

On the 16th the diary states:—

With Lord Derby about Wellington College. Talked with him about Court of Appeal; he said he could not make it a party question, although he was favourable to the proposal himself: would Lord Lyttelton move it?

The day before, in Convocation, the Bishop had given public utterance to the views which have been

[3] *Essays and Reviews.*

already described. His concluding words show that he did this with the object of obtaining an expression of opinion from the Bishops on this subject. His words run thus:—

I am most thankful that this discussion has drawn forth an almost unanimous expression of opinion that there should be an inquiry into the constitution of the Court, with a view to amendment, and I believe that the fair spirit, the good sense and the honesty of Englishmen, if inquiry should be made, will cause such changes as we need to be carried into effect.[1]

Referring to this subject in 1866, the Bishop, in the Charge for that year, says:—

The grave question of the reconstitution of the Court of Final Appeal in matters of doctrine remains unsettled. It is one the issues of which are so important that, provided only it is not let to fall asleep, I would rather see it wait the gradual clearing away of difficulties, than risk the dangers of too hasty settlement.

The difficulties which surrounded this question were not cleared away during the Bishop's lifetime. He was, however, able to accomplish one alteration, which he had much at heart, in the constitution of the Court, namely, the separation of the clerical from the legal judges; for, during the passage of the new Judicature Bill through Parliament in 1873, the Bishop was instrumental in introducing a clause which removed the Archbishops and the Bishop of London from the Judicial Committee; two years later they were again placed upon it, but as assessors, not as judges.

In July 1861, Dr. Colenso, then Bishop of Natal, had published his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The publication of this and other works

[1] A Royal Commission was appointed for such inquiry in 1880; but at the time of writing has not yet sent in its report.

on theological questions determined Dr. Gray, Bishop of Capetown to put in force the authority he believed himself to possess, that of citing Dr. Colenso before him as metropolitan, trying him, and in the event of his being found guilty, depriving him of his office. At least a year before any proceedings were taken, Dr. Gray knew that Dr. Colenso questioned this metropolitical authority, for, writing on December 2, 1860, to Bishop Wilberforce, he says, 'I am more and more alarmed about the Bishop of Natal's mind and views.' This was on the occasion of Bishop Gray passing a resolution in his Synod against a Mr. Long whom he had suspended and who eventually appealed to the Privy Council against the sentence. The Privy Council decided in favour of the Bishop, on the ground that the Church in South Africa was a voluntary society and that anyone joining voluntarily such a society must be bound by its rules. This decision fortified Bishop Gray's impression that he possessed, by law, supreme authority over the South African Churches.

The history of Bishop Gray's dealings with Bishop Colenso has been so fully written[5] that it is only necessary to refer to this question, which undoubtedly at the time was a very prominent one, in order to show the line taken by Bishop Wilberforce in connection with it. Immediately on the publication of Bishop Colenso's book, Bishop Gray wrote to Bishop Wilberforce, asking whether he ought to take counsel of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the other Bishops. He concluded by saying that if so, then he (Bishop Gray) requested the Bishop to do so in his name. In November 1861, Bishop Gray wrote himself to

[5] *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown.* 2 vols. Rivingtons.

the Archbishop, and in the next month he writes to Bishop Wilberforce, saying of Bishop Colenso :—

> Poor dear fellow, I feel deeply grieved about him; I really believe that a philosophical Catholic would set him straight; one or two wrong principles are at the bottom of his errors. I think that I shall, without entering into discussion with him on particular doctrines, try to get him to look at his opinions from a different point of view from what he has hitherto done.

Bishop Gray, however, seems soon to have altered his hopes as to a peaceable solution, as in the following March writing to Bishop Wilberforce, he urges a condemnation of Bishop Colenso's book. He says: 'I think the book would be condemned with more weight by *you*, and that possibly the Archbishop *quâ* Patriarch might try him.' Bishop Colenso and Bishop Gray both arrived in England during the year. Before, however, Bishop Gray arrived, the English Bishops, as appears by the following letter, had held two meetings to consider the questions proposed by Bishop Gray. The Bishop thus describes these meetings :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Capetown.

The Deanery, Windsor, June 1, 1862.

My dear Bishop,—We have now held two episcopal meetings on the Bishop of Natal's case. The Archbishop of York has presided, the Archbishop of Canterbury, though apparently recovered from his attack, being ordered by his doctor to forbear from all business at present. *You* can understand the value of his life. Of course all that passed at those meetings was most confidential: but it can be no breach of confidence to say to you for your private guidance what passed. At the last of them the new Bishop of St. Helena (Claughton) was present. First, the Bishop of Winchester communicated to us that the Archbishop had written out to you

with brotherly sympathy, but expressing that he feared, in the possibility of the case coming in any way before him, that he could not advise but that the responsibility must be yours. Under these circumstances his Grace did not consult us for you, and so we could not advise you. It was therefore urged by the Bishop of London that we had nothing to do with it, and had better not meddle. I rejoined that though we might have nothing to do with advising you we must settle what line to adopt on his arriving. Salisbury, Winchester, Ripon, &c., supported me and it was resolved that the Bishops should read the Commentary and reassemble.

We met on Friday—a large number. . . . York, London, Winchester, St. David's, Lichfield, Oxford, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Salisbury, Ripon, Worcester, Rochester, Kilmore, Killaloe, Tasmania, St. Helena. The Bishop of Winchester had your letter to Natal and his answer communicated by the Archbishop and offered to read them. London objected. The book was all we had to do with. I replied; St. David's backed me, and after tedious discussion your letter was read. The Bishop of London declared it to be an absolute perversion of the whole book: a tissue of misrepresentation, &c. I responded, and Salisbury; that it was a clear, loving, fair, and most considerate statement of his errors. The Bishop of Winchester then prepared to read the answer of Natal. London objected. It *might* be confidential, it *might* be a confession—we ought not to hear it except at his request. A long and tedious discussion followed; and on division whether it be read, no one supported London, so the Bishop of Winchester read on. When we came to his avowal of believing that Holy Scripture abounded in errors of fact, London renewed the question: *ought* we to hear such a letter? Another discussion, again settled for reading, and it was read through.

Then came a long discussion as to our course. I suggested that on his landing we should open personal communication with him; say that he came under a sort of question as to his soundness by his metropolitan, that *we* had read the book, and without adjudging whether it was heretical or not, were persuaded that its language was, to say

the least, such that it *must* suggest to the reader the most unsound views, that we therefore invited its suppression, and, failing that, agreed to request him not to officiate in our dioceses until the matter had been legally examined. All except London and St. David's were ready to adopt some such course. St. David's seemed to fear that such a *common* action had too much the appearance of a synodical condemnation without a hearing but appeared to have no objection to such a line of action by individual Bishops as individuals. London was strong against action as action. 'Was not prepared to say,' &c. The old story, 'Did not know that it went beyond the teaching of Mr. Maurice, whom he had licensed to a cure. If he did this, must he not forbid Bishop of Brechin, &c.' Salisbury and Tasmania spoke out. Lincoln well. Lichfield fair for him, being, as you know, timid. Winchester with entire decision. But as London absolutely declined, no *common* line of action could be undertaken. But my impression is that this will be the general conduct of the English Bishops.

As to legal proceedings, R. Phillimore is of opinion that if your Cape judgment is affirmed by the Privy Council *you* can proceed as metropolitan in a court *of audience* with your suffragans and hear and determine. He does not *think* that Canterbury has any mode even of hearing on appeals: he is sure that he can have no *primary* jurisdiction. I have consulted Phillimore as to the Proctors, &c., and have communicated with your brother as you desired.

I have been ill: a bad rheumatic attack, on the verge of rheumatic fever, and am rather pulled down, but pretty well now. I had a hard day's work yesterday, and am not the worse. The Archbishop seems at present quite well. The last attack is supposed to have been epileptic; but of course it greatly increases the risk of a life, now so very precious to us. I am, my dear Bishop, your very affectionate

S. OXON.

Hoping almost against hope, the Bishop wrote to Bishop Colenso to persuade him, if possible, to take no step while in England which would compel the

Bishops, either individually or collectively, to notice the work he had published.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Natal.

August 8, 1862.

My dear Bishop,—I hear that you have reached London, and I am anxious at once to communicate with you, and *first* I want to express to you the unabated continuance of my affection to you, let our differences of opinion turn out to be what they may, and then, next, as to those differences. I know, I believe, all the generous heat of your noble nature, and I firmly believe that what you have viewed as *unjust* opposition to those whom you love and admire has driven you on to points which, but for such gales of feeling, you would never have reached. I have read over and over again your exposition to the Romans and I must say to you that I think you contradict yourself in it over and over again, that there are statements in it, numerous, explicit, and manifestly from your heart of hearts, which are incompatible with any but the really orthodox view, as we both should of old have understood that word, and yet there are in it passages which seem to me quite incompatible with what from the beginning has been the unbroken tradition of the Church's teaching. Over these I should greatly like calmly and prayerfully to talk with you, if you will let me. They are too large for writing. But what I mainly write for now is to pray you not to take any irretrievable step until you have, in free discourse with some of us, reviewed the whole matter. I hope you will not think this too much for me to ask. I long so to have you with us. I so dread the evil consequences to our Church of a dissension on these matters in which you are to take a leading part. Surely the separation of Colonial life and the autocracy of a Colonial Bishop's position cannot be, with any gifts of intellect, the most favourable position for the discovery of religious truth. And if this be so, it must be a duty to review all conclusions so reached with others, if you have the opportunity, before you irrevocably adopt them and run the risk of advocating error,

of clouding truth, or of risking the usefulness of a life. You perhaps know that we Bishops did generally consult on your commentary and, though in different measures, yet all lamented much that we found in it. I am sure you would not deny that such a consensus of your brethren, though it would not, of course, stand in the stead of one of your own conclusions, yet ought to be a ground for carefully, and with consultation of others, revising them thoroughly. All I would entreat, for love's sake, is that you rest in quietness until you have given us some such opportunity of free brotherly converse. I am going into Wales for a fortnight; but the first week in September, please God, I am to be at Lavington, near Petworth; and if you could come to me there to give a day or two to such a consultation, you would find a warm greeting and, I hope, a loving and unprejudiced discussion of differences. I have vividly before me the lines you wrote in my little visitor's book, when you left Cuddesdon.[6] I have always felt the liveliest interest in your course, and I would fain, believe me, only do everything which in me lies, to keep in truth and usefulness one very dear to my heart, and gifted by God with most unusual powers of serving Him. I pray you to believe me to be your affectionate brother,

S. OXON.

In declining this invitation, Bishop Colenso said that though he did not object to meeting any Bishop singly and discussing the book yet he did not see that anything was to be gained by such a meeting, as the opinions he had expressed had been long held by him,

[6] 'In memory of words spoken in Cornwall, fourteen years ago, which first awakened in the writer's soul a lively concern for the spiritual distresses of our colonies; and of the solemn charge delivered by the *same* lips, in the name of Christ and His Church, at Lambeth, on November 30, 1853.

'The raw recruit of 1839 must now go forth into the field of battle, which he does with a deep sense of his own weakness, and knowing that "he who is but girding on his armour may not boast as he who putteth it off." But the voice which first called still cheers him on to the work; and in a far-off land, the words of St. Andrew's Day will be ringing in his ears—rather, will be treasured in his heart—for strength and comfort in the midst of the conflict.

'J. W. NATAL.

'Cuddesdon Palace, Dec. 5, 1853.'

and had 'grown with his growth.' On February 6, 1863, the Bishops held a private meeting, at which the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Armagh and twenty-six Bishops, were present. Meanwhile the case of heresy against Bishop Colenso had assumed a more serious aspect owing to the publication of Parts 1 and 2 of 'The Pentateuch Critically Examined,' in the second of which books the inspiration of the Old Testament was denied and a bold declaration made that the books of Samuel and Jeremiah were forgeries. At this meeting Bishop Wilberforce proposed the following resolution: 'That we agree, after common counsel, under a great scandal, to inhibit. We would not assume the Bishop's guilt, as he has not yet been tried, nor make a charge against him, but assert that there was a great and notorious scandal.' After a very long discussion this resolution was carried by twenty-five votes to four. On the 11th another meeting took place on the question of an address to Bishop Colenso. This meeting is characterised by the Bishop as 'painful meeting.' The discussion waxed so warm that the venerable Bishop of St. Asaph rose and asked the Archbishop to say prayers. The Bishop's diary has this record:—

February 6.—Bishop of Capetown; breakfasted. Then to meeting of Bishops. Archbishop of York's plan about Colenso. Bishop of London's passion, and York's. Hours of painful discussion.

Bishop Gray, describing this meeting, says the Bishop of Oxford 'burst forth into one of the most eloquent speeches I ever heard from him which was all the more remarkable from its being addressed, not to a popular assembly, but to thirty grave Bishops met together to consider a matter of the deepest moment to the Church.' The meeting separated without

agreeing as to the form that should be used, and appointed a committee, of which Bishop Wilberforce was a member, to draw up a letter. The Bishop's private diary shows that his hand drew the address, which was signed by forty-one Bishops, the only one who did not sign being the Bishop of St. David's. The address called upon Bishop Colenso to resign his bishopric, a step which he did not take.

An anecdote told by a distinguished member of the Lower House of Convocation bears upon another of these meetings. He says :—

> I was going, as one of the Assessors with Prolocutor, to the Upper House and stopped a moment at the door of the Bounty Board Office to have a word with my old friend in attendance there. 'Very hot, old friend,' was what I said. (It was one of the hottest of summer days.) 'Uncommon hot, Sir, outside, and uncommon hot inside. Cannot remember any day so hot as to-day inside.' There was no mistaking about the heated points.

The following story illustrates a noticeable point in Bishop Wilberforce's character, namely that however much on public points he was compelled to differ, yet such divergence of opinion did not interfere with personal regard. At a similar meeting to the one described above, the Bishop and the Bishop of London had taken strongly opposite lines. The discussion had been indeed hot, but when it was over, the Bishop threw a note across the table to the Bishop of London, who naturally thought that the note must have some bearing on the late difference between them and probably contained some explanation. It was something to this effect, 'You really should not wear such boots, they are not safe; you ought to get such and such boots, as your health is too precious to be endangered by neglecting ordinary precautions.'

The diary for the next day is as follows :—

February 7.—Morning, wrote till 10. Grillion's to breakfast. A great deal of talk with Roundell Palmer on Bishop of Capetown's case,[7] coming on on Monday. Likely, before a hostile Court, to go off on an accidental point. Then sat with Bishop of Exeter, who as shrewd as ever. Then Madagascar Committee, where Bishop of London, very absent, all friendly; and two fundamental resolutions carried, in spite of a growl from Bishop of Lincoln, unanimously. Then Committee on Colenso, promising rather. Then walk with the Archbishop (Canterbury), his simple unambitious nature beautiful. Then dine with Lord Chancellor, American and Danish Ministers, &c., &c. The Lord Chancellor very pleasant.

In April, Bishop Gray returned to Capetown, and in November the trial of Bishop Colenso was begun, and on December 14 it ended, Bishop Gray condemning him to deprivation. That Bishop Gray had long before made up his mind, not only as to the issue of the trial but also the sentence, appears by extracts from two of his letters to the Bishop of Oxford :—

August 19, 1863.—If secular courts interfere with me in the exercise of the purely spiritual function of trying a suffragan for heresy, I will not yield to that interference. I shall say nothing of the emoluments, but probably deprive him of his spiritual office and declare his see vacant. If a secular Court affects to restore him, and he resumes the exercise of a spiritual office, I will excommunicate.

September 2, 1863.—I do not think that if I were in the position of my dear brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, I could refrain from excommunication.[8] I am more than ever determined about my line with Colenso.

The Bishop of Capetown then repeats what has been already quoted, and goes on to say that he will—

[7] Long *v.* the Bishop of Capetown.

[8] Referring to the Judgment on *Essays and Reviews.*

Excommunicate if he treats the sentence as a nullity. Then, if the clergy in Natal will work with me, we will elect and consecrate here if the Church at home will not send out another. I believe it will come to this, and I therefore contemplate it now.

So much did Bishop Gray contemplate it that when he forwarded to Bishop Wilberforce a report of the proceedings and the sentence of December 14 he sent with them a draft form of excommunication to be revised, so that it might be ready. On March 14, Bishop Gray wrote again to Bishop Wilberforce, asking him to look out for a man to fill the see, and to get the Archbishop's private approbation, concluding his letter with the significant request, 'Pray do not forget the form of excommunication I sent in my December letter.' Bishop Wilberforce was most anxious that, until Bishop Colenso's petition had been heard, no step should be taken. Writing on May 3, 1864, to Bishop Gray, he says:—

I should strongly urge you to *wait* both as to the excommunication and as to the filling up of the see. If Colenso returns to Natal and attempts contumaciously to exercise his ministry, I would at once proceed to the excommunication, but I would not otherwise do so. Nothing could do more harm than that you should seem either to persecute him or to act with precipitation. At the right time the Archbishop is quite ready to give you any suggestions or encouragements, but he feels that the time has not yet come.

This letter had the desired effect of preventing Bishop Gray from acting before the case was decided. It did not, however, convince him, as he wrote to Bishop Wilberforce again in September, when, after saying that 'he had lost all faith in the fair dealing of lawyers in cases which relate to spiritual matters,' he again pressed the Bishop to send out a man to be con-

secrated. Bishop Gray's determination to excommunicate Bishop Colenso and to consecrate a new bishop, even without the assent of the English episcopate, very greatly increased the difficulties of the position both for himself and for those who were working with him. These difficulties were further aggravated by Bishop Gray's refusal to appear before the Privy Council on Bishop Colenso's petition.[9] Bishop Gray's opinions on secular Courts have been given above. A reference to his biography enlarges these opinions. 'I think the prelates and statesmen are all too theoretic about constitutions and self-government in the Colonies, and I find I differ more with them than others.'[1] Bishop Gray was persuaded to draw up a protest, and on this point Bishop Wilberforce writes, on October 4, 1863:—

> I think it may be well that you should draw up the protest you speak of, and lodge it privately with us for future use. There is so intense a feeling for *law* in England that I am most anxious not to give notice, as it were, of contradicting it before the time.

The protest, when it arrived in England, was found to be useless, and thus the responsibility of acting for Bishop Gray was thrown on Bishop Wilberforce. There was no time to write and get an answer, as the case was fixed for December 14. The Bishop then wrote as follows:—

[9] Bishop Colenso did not appeal against the sentence of deprivation passed upon him at Capetown, but he presented a petition to the Crown, asking that he be entitled to hold his see until the letters patent granted to him should have been cancelled by due process of law, and also to declare that the letters patent granted to the Bishop of Capetown did not entitle that Bishop to claim any jurisdiction over him, and further that the sentence already passed should be declared null and void.

[1] *Life of Bishop Gray*, vol. i. p. 362.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Capetown.

London, December 7, 1864.

My dearest Bishop,—I have had most anxious discussions with your brother, Sir R. Phillimore,[2] and the Archbishop, and it is not without great anxiety that I have come to the conclusion I have reached in advising your brother as I have done. No such protest as you sent could by any legal means be served on the Court. This was most distinctly asserted. How, then, could I carry out the spirit of your charge? It appeared only by instructing counsel, under a protest that you did not admit the authority of the Court, to appear and watch the proceedings of the Court, so as to prevent its claiming through ignorance a jurisdiction it does not by law possess. This course and this only, as far as I can learn, enables you solemnly to protest against the jurisdiction of the Court. This is the respectful course to the Queen, whose Court it is, and whose letters patent you hold. This is the mode most likely to obtain from the Court the disavowal of jurisdiction, which we desire, and this enables you at any time, should the Court usurp jurisdiction, to retire on the ground you would have occupied at first, of not allowing it to have any jurisdiction at all. The Archbishop is strong for this course. I pray God that it may so turn out that there may be nothing of which you will have good cause to repent. . . . I am ever your very heartily affectionate,

S. OXON.

Sir Robert Phillimore, who, with Sir Hugh Cairns, was retained for Bishop Gray, thus expresses himself on Bishop Gray's protest: 'I cannot think that Capetown is right in refusing to appear under protest to the jurisdiction, either with respect to himself or to the Colonial Church generally.'

On receipt of Bishop Wilberforce's letter, Bishop Gray wrote hurriedly to the Archbishop, declaring that the 'appearance put in for him was contrary to his

[2] Queen's Advocate.

instructions.' This letter was sent to his brother, with instructions to publish it. Whether or not it was ever sent to the Archbishop does not appear; but whether sent or not, it was never published. Bishop Gray speedily changed his mind with regard to it, as, ten days after writing the letter, he wrote to his brother, saying that after a conversation with a Judge at the Cape, he was of opinion that his 'protest saved his position both morally and legally,' and later on in May he wrote to his brother again, saying that he felt thankful to him and to the Bishop of Oxford for acting as they thought for the best.[8]

On March 20, the judgment was delivered in favour of Bishop Colenso, saying that he was not deposed under the authority of the letters patent, because the Crown had no power to grant a patent giving any authority to one bishop as metropolitan. A letter written a few days after the decision gives the Bishop's opinion on this judgment:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Capetown.

Great Brickhill, March 24, 1865.

My dear Bishop,—Westbury's judgment is just out. I have not had time thoroughly to consider it or to see any lawyer on it. I am disposed to agree with the former parts of the judgment —Jurisdiction, *i.e.* all external power, is not of the Apostles— must be of the Christian State and cannot be granted except by the Christian State—and that the Church in Africa is only capable of holding jurisdiction when given by the State there. But all this, the establishment of which may be God's way of setting the Colonial Church free, seems to me absolutely and altogether incompatible with pronouncing in any sense which is not a Westbury lie your proceedings null and void. It can only really mean that the law does not contemplate these

[8] *Life of Robert Gray*, Bishop of Capetown, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183, 187, and 207.

acts at all, they being the acts of a voluntary society, not that the law sets them aside. I go to London on Monday, and will see the Archbishop and Phillimore, your brother, &c. It would be better if you came home on the Archbishop's invitation than without. I am always your most loving friend,

S. OXON.

The next day the Bishop writes to Lord Richard Cavendish on this matter: 'I think Westbury's judgment on Colenso, bristling with Erastian insults to the Church as it purposely is, is yet the charter of the freedom of the Colonial Church, so is the modern Achitophel overruled.' On Sunday, January 5, 1866, Bishop Gray formally excommunicated Bishop Colenso. Bishop Wilberforce endeavoured to dissuade him from taking this step. It will be remembered, however, that on May 3, 1864, Bishop Wilberforce said: 'If Colenso returns to Natal and attempts contumaciously to exercise his ministry, I would excommunicate him.' This was written before the judgment was delivered, and at a time when the Bishop believed that the Privy Council would refuse to hear Bishop Colenso's appeal, and that Bishop Gray's letters patent did confer upon him supreme temporal control over the Church in South Africa. The judgment of the Privy Council had on these points convinced Bishop Wilberforce that he was wrong, and he saw the complications that might arise if such a sentence were pronounced. An extract from a letter to his son Ernest, written in 1868, more clearly demonstrates the Bishop's view as to the legality of the deposition :—

I have no doubt of the canonicity of the deposition, and have said that I accept it as spiritually valid; the awkwardness is that it is not legally so, through having been pronounced by no Court known to the law of England.

Bishop Colenso might resign his see, as have so many Colonial bishops; he then might be appointed to a living in England, where the Church recognised the State laws as well as the spiritual authority of the Bishop of Capetown; how then could a bishop in England refuse to institute? Besides, Bishop Wilberforce knew that the Bishops of the Church in England would not join as a body in ratifying a sentence of excommunication on Bishop Colenso. For other reasons his maturer judgment was at variance with his first opinion, already quoted. On April 3, 1865, he thus writes to Bishop Gray:—

I have, as you know, been always rather holding you back. But it seems to me now that the time has come for you to act, and for us at home to be ready to support your action. Our dear Archbishop is true and fast as ever, but it hardly becomes the height of that seat to whisper counsel, so I venture to do it. I think that *the* first point is to fill the episcopal seat at Natal with a true man. I should advise you to get the laity and clergy to meet and elect a Bishop—I would have you suggest the man; I think it should be one out there. Then I would have a trust deed carefully drawn, which he and those who would should sign, declaring himself Bishop of the South African Church in full communion with us. I would have him take his office on condition of being willing to carry out all the resolutions, canons, &c., diocesan and provincial, of your own body, and one of them should be, to submit himself to your judgment, &c., when need was, *in camerâ*, as completely and in the same degree as he would be bound to do if you had legal jurisdiction as metropolitan.[4] It seems to me clear that, in the present state of matters, action must come from you, and this seems to me your mode of acting, and in this, I trust, we should from home effectually

[4] The course here recommended by the Bishop was almost similar to what had been already done in the case of Bishop Tozer, who succeeded Bishop Mackenzie—he, Bishop Tozer, took the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop of Capetown instead of to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

support you, acknowledging your new Bishop and utterly disallowing the traitor.

But suppose he comes out. I venture, after much thought, to say do *not* excommunicate him. Excommunication seems to me a dangerous, awkward, and, upon the whole, an inefficient weapon. I think nothing but difficulty and entanglement ever came from excommunicating the anti-popes. As long as they had a following, their believers disregarded it; and when the schism healed, it was an awkward fact to have to deal with. I do not remember that any of the excommunications were formally taken off, and yet, on the other hand, none, I think, were maintained in the long run. My advice, therefore, would be—ignore him; inhibit him from doing any act; get clergy and laity to stick by you in rejecting him, but do *not* excommunicate. It would, I think, *here* tend to turn the tide again in his favour.

Mr. Keble was also consulted by Bishop Gray before the final step was taken, and he thus writes to Bishop Wilberforce, with whom he had been in correspondence on the advice he should give:—

I dare say that you and others are right in discouraging the resolution to excommunicate in this case, but it is a most sorrowful and heartbreaking reason which makes me think so, viz., that nobody now—at least, no Anglican—with very few exceptions, really believes in excommunication; and so it would be disregarded, and prove a world-wide scandal. But I have suggested to the Bishop that, in acting on your advice, which is quite (as you know) what I could wish, he should get his people to claim, and you and the Church at home to recognise, that, as Metropolitan, he, with his suffragans, may freely exercise the power inherent in them of censuring and, if need be, excommunicating any heretic, bishop or other, who may be canonically convicted of disturbing the flock within his province; also, I would have all that is done in this crisis formally communicated to all the Sees in communion with the Church of England, and, if it may be, recognised by them.

Beyond a correspondence with Bishop Gray respecting an episcopal successor to Bishop Colenso, Bishop Wilberforce had no more to do with the matter, until the Pan-Anglican Synod, when Bishop Gray again brought the question forward.

CHAPTER V.

(1864.)

JOURNAL OF AN AMERICAN CLERGYMAN—BAMPTON MISSION—CONTINENTAL CONFIRMATIONS—VISIT TO SANDRINGHAM—FALL FROM HORSE—DEBATE ON 'ESSAYS AND REVIEWS'—THE BISHOP AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR—OPINIONS OF LORDS DERBY, CHELMSFORD, AND BISHOP OF EXETER—'THE LONDON WE LIVE IN'—DIARY IN WALES—VERBAL INSPIRATION—SPEECH AT HASTINGS—SPEECH AT OXFORD—CLERGYMEN SHOULD BE GENTLEMEN—LETTER TO MR. GORDON.

THE following extract is taken from the published Journal of the Rev. Dr. Murray—Rector of Niagara, then on a mission to England on behalf of the University of Trinity College, Toronto :—

February 13.—Attended Divine Service in the private Chapel of the Palace at Cuddesdon, and was invited by the Bishop to assist his Chaplains. After Morning Prayers the Bishop addressed the Candidates for Ordination in the most touching manner, and laid before them most affectionately and faithfully the weighty responsibilities of the Ministerial Office, and the danger of entering upon it without proper feelings. Altogether it was the most solemn address I ever listened to, and so deeply affecting that most of the Candidates were in tears during its delivery; indeed I shed tears myself.

On May 24 Dr. Murray was again the Bishop's guest, the occasion was the annual festival of Cuddesdon College.

The Bishop's guests attended Divine Service in the Parish Church at 8 A.M., and were also present at the Celebration of the Holy Communion. After the second service at 11, the

Rev. J. Keble preached a very able and well-timed sermon from the text: 'And fear came upon every soul.' The service being ended, all repaired to the lawn, where was an immense tent, in which the Bishop's guests, the graduates and undergraduates of Cuddesdon, were to dine. About 250 sat down; and after partaking of the good things which were provided in great profusion, his Lordship proposed several toasts and among others the Colonial Church, coupling with it the name of the Bishop of Toronto, which produced deafening cheers from one end of the tent to the other.

I was called upon to respond, and in my remarks gave a brief account of Trinity College, its importance to the general welfare of the Church in Canada, and explained in general terms the object of my visit to the Church in the mother country. This afforded me a good opportunity of making my mission known, and I was but too thankful to embrace it and grateful to our staunch friend the Bishop for the occasion.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.[1]

London, February 18, 1864.

It is with me the busiest time in the year. Convocation sitting, breakfast of the members: committees after. Then House of Lords, then dinner, and to bed. I have enjoyed having E. and F. with me exceedingly, and often refreshed myself with them for half an hour before dinner, and they have breakfasted with me. . . .

(*Guardian, March* 2.) The Bishop held his Lenten Ordination in the Parish Church of Bampton on February 21, preceded by a week of special services. The head-quarters of the mission was at Bampton Vicarage. Special services were held, and sermons preached, in twenty-seven churches of the neighbourhood, besides those held in Bampton Church itself. Thirty-eight clergymen, besides the Bishop and the clergy of Bampton and its neighbourhood, took part in the mission. The Bishop held seven confirmations; he preached thrice on the first Sunday, besides closing the Mission with an evening

[1] During the years 1864, 1865, and 1866, the writer of these pages was in India.

sermon of surpassing power on the Ordination day, and preaching several other sermons and addresses in the course of the week. Altogether about 118 sermons and addresses were delivered during the period.

The subjoined is a list of the subjects discussed at the morning conferences of the assembled clergy :—

Monday.—How to secure Permanent Results from the work of the Mission.

Tuesday.—How to promote amongst our people a more intelligent apprehension of the Privileges and Duties of Church Membership.

Wednesday.—Of the Visitation of the sick in cases of protracted illness, and of the use of the Visitation Office.

Thursday.—How the Clergy may be brought into more direct spiritual relationship with certain classes of parishioners: viz., 1. Domestic Servants; 2. Labouring Men; Shop assistants; 3. Farm Boys.

Friday.—What are the Chief Hindrances to the work of the Church in this district, and how the Clergy and Laity may best co-operate to meet them.

Saturday.—The need and practicability of a more systematic study of Theology amongst the Parochial Clergy.

The Bishop's custom with regard to saying the general Absolution at Morning and Evening Prayer, both in and out of his diocese appears in this letter to the Archbishop of Dublin :—

London, February 3, 1864.

My dearest Archbishop,—I. My *custom* is to read the Absolution when I am in my own diocese, unless there be some reason to the contrary; out of my diocese I read it when the officiating clergyman asks me to do so. II. I do not know the custom of other Bishops on the matter. III. I ground my doing it on the rubric which *orders* it at the highest Eucharistic service. I think this shows that it is the *mind* of the Church that the Bishop when present should do so, though she does not burden her Bishops with an *order* to do so, except in the highest office. You will observe that two things are so ordered. 1. His pronouncing the Absolution. 2. His pro-

nouncing the Blessing. Now universal experience has acted as to the second order, on the principle I apply to both, the language being the same as to both; and this seems to me, therefore, to be really acting on the mind of the Church. IV. *Practically* I believe the effect of thus allowing the Bishop to take a fixed part in the office is excellent. V. I never knew it to be objected to by any Low Churchman. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

March 5.—Off after breakfast for Ardley. Old Lowe hearty and good as ever. The little Church quite pretty now. Much interested in the Confirmation. On to Fringford, also nice. Walked in north-east mist part of the way. Mixbury. The Strattons, and Percy Barrington dine. Roundell Palmers here. His daughter to be confirmed to-morrow. A little talk with Roundell about the judgment.[2] He seemed to think that the internal life of the Church was injured by the secular arm not allowing her to exercise her discipline properly, but that there was no ground for saying that the Church acquiesced or was guilty.

March 6.—Mixbury. Early Communion. Then breakfast. Morning prayer and Confirmation. Many letters. Finmere, afternoon service. A striking attendance of men: no dissenting labourers. Long talk with R. Palmer on Church matters in the garden. He sound and very able.

March 15.—After breakfast rode to Checkendon[3] through woods full of memories. Turned once or twice out of the road and found out old haunts. The house too so full of recollections, and the garden. My blessed one. Robert, &c. &c. How life changed. Drove, rain coming on, to Caversham, where Confirmation.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Brussels, April 8.

On Easter Sunday night I and E—— and F—— set off on our travels, going to Dover to sleep, and meaning to cross the next day. But next day F—— was not well, so I went

[2] *Essays and Reviews.* [3] The Bishop's first curacy.

over and went on to St. Germains,[4] where E—— and F—— joined us on Wednesday evening. We went together to Paris most days, and took Henry and his daughters with us, and saw a great deal of Paris. On Thursday I baptized the ambassador's grandchild, and on Friday held a Confirmation in Paris, and preached Sunday. Monday I went to the Tuileries and saw the Emperor and Empress, &c.; it was a very splendid affair. On Tuesday morning I set off for Brussels, leaving E—— and F—— at St. Germains, as I had undertaken Confirmations there and at Antwerp. There I have been since and seen all the leading Belgian ministers, and had a good deal of interesting conversation with them; and now I am in the railway carriage with Fosbery for Calais, where we are to sleep to-night, confirm to-morrow, and then cross to Dover, whence I am to go to Windsor, the Dean's, till Monday, for preaching and Confirmation, and on Monday go to Cuddesdon till Saturday, to receive Rural Deans, Inspectors, &c., and then move to London. . . . Dear A——[5] has been at death's door with dropsy: indeed one sudden movement would probably have killed her. . . . I am longing exceedingly to hear from you, and am ever praying for you. I am always, my beloved son, your most dearly loving father,

S. OXON.

The Bishop's diary gives a few more details. *March* 29.—After breakfast to Paris with William. Day cold and snowy. Called on Lord Cowley—cordial, and then on Guizot: he talked about our Privy Council decision, at which he was much displeased. 'What should we do?' The Bishop also called on MM. Thiers and Prévost-Paradol. On the 31st the diary records that they were all photographed by his brother William. Then again to Paris, and called on several people, returning in the evening to St. Germains. On April 1 the Bishop confirmed in Paris, and on the 3rd, Sunday, preached at the Church in the Avenue

[4] Where his brother William was living. [5] An old nurse.

Marbœuf. The diary says: 'Voice at first troublesome. Large communion.' In the evening the Bishop and his brother 'dined with Thiers, meeting Mignet,' &c. 'The Guardian' says:—

The Bishop preached on behalf of the S. P. G. in the Church of the Avenue Marbœuf. The correspondent of the 'Guardian' expressed satisfaction at seeing a so-called 'High Church' Bishop officiating in a so-called 'Low Church' place of worship. But this satisfaction was still further increased by the utter unconsciousness on the part of the Bishop of Oxford that anything of the kind was the case or that he was occupying any anomalous or peculiar position or that, in fact, he was officiating anywhere or under any other circumstances than in a building dedicated to the service and ritual of the Church of England, and where the Liturgy and Prayer-book of the Church of England were evidently the rule and order of divine worship. In the pulpit no one could complain of the deficiency of the Bishop's exposition of doctrine, either in point of positiveness or catholicity. There, at least, no wavering or halting between two opinions was allowed in matters really vital, and few who were present will soon forget the wonderful and impressive energy with which, despite his failing and exhausted voice, he laid before those who were inclined to pare down the edges and round the corners of the miraculous, the solemn and awful choice between the Gospel as an utter and impudent imposture and the Gospel as the power of God and the wisdom of God.

The Bishop left Paris on April 5, and 'The Guardian' correspondent supplies these facts:—

Yielding to the wishes of the British residents, the Bishop held a Confirmation at Brussels on April 5.

The chapel was crowded to excess by a multitude eager to listen to the words of a prelate whose eloquence and impressive manner render his ministrations a real privilege to both young and old. Nor were any disappointed; both before and after the imposition of hands, the Bishop addressed

the candidates in one of the most touching charges it ever fell to our good fortune to hear. His simple language and apt illustrations conveyed the full meaning of the holy rite within the reach of the youngest intelligence present, while the clear and solemn tones of his splendid voice brought every word he uttered within the hearing of those seated farthest from him.

The Bishop of Oxford proceeded, on Thursday April 7, to Antwerp, where he confirmed a number of young persons, and on Friday started for Calais, whence, after again conferring that holy rite, he returned to London.

April 22.—Convocation breakfast. To Eastern Counties rail. Met the Prince of Wales, and travelled down with him. Dinner at 9.30. He, Knollys, Grey, Byng, C. Wood, &c. After—a good deal of talk in the drawing-room with the Princess. She thin, but in good spirits.

April 23.—Up at 7, read office, &c. Wrote letters, in all fifty, with C. Wood's help. Walked with the Prince; saw dogs, gardens. Cedars of Lebanon. He gave me one in flower-pot, brought in seed by him from Lebanon.[6] The Duke of Cambridge came after luncheon. Saw the young Prince, a nice child. The Princess very charming, simplicity, goodness, dignity. Rode with Prince of Wales and Duke of Cambridge to Castle Rising.

April 24.—Sunday. Up early, prepared sermon. Read two of Carter's, and preached at last from notes in great measure different. After afternoon church, walked with the Prince and Duke of Cambridge to the heronry, &c., pleasant walk and evening. The Princess gave me her photograph and desired mine.

April 25.—Morning. Letters, &c. At 1 in carriage with the Princess, Mrs. Grey, and Mrs. Knollys, to Hunstanton. The Prince driving wagonette, others riding. Picnic and all photographed.

[6] This cedar is now flourishing at Lavington, where it was planted by the Bishop.

April 26.—Off early to King's Lynn. Breakfast in odd little room over river. In Prince's express to Ely, at service of installation. Striking. Then to London, and just too late for Church Institution meeting. Walk with the Archbishop.

The following also refers to the above visit :—

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

April 26, 1864.

I have been at Sandringham, paying a visit to the Prince and Princess of Wales, and a very pleasant visit it has been. They are so thoroughly kind and friendly, and leave you so very much to do as you like. She is quite charming. She sent her book to me last night, asking me to write something, and here was my inscription :—

Of all of our hearts Princess,
With love thy life to bless,
Along thy path of happiness,
Onward to glory press.

. . . I am in Pall Mall. Convocation just over for the present. . . . How my heart reaches out after you.

June 23.—Morning Convocation breakfast. Then Convocation. To House of Lords. Carried second reading of Schools Bill.[7] Rode with Bishop of Gloucester ; Worcester[8] fell heavily with me in the park. Lady Cowper brought me home. A great escape, D.G.

It was a great escape, and the Bishop thus describes it in letters to friends :—

Many thanks for your most kind letter. Your 'outpourings' never weary, always interest me greatly. My fall was a bad one. My mare stumbled, fell on one knee, and as I was trying to raise her, shot over on her head, I still in the saddle, and smashed my head on the gravel. I believe but

[7] A Bill to permit a Bishop to license a clergyman to perform Divine Service in a chapel attached to the school. The Bill passed the House of Lords, but owing to the lateness of its introduction in the House of Commons it did not pass.

[8] The Bishop's horse.

for a strong shovel hat, which was absolutely crumpled up, I might have been killed. I never, in hunting days, had such a fall. But I was mercifully preserved, and am not in any way materially hurt. Two unepiscopal black eyes attest the blow.

To another friend the Bishop writes :—

It has been a *very great* escape. I never had such a smash, and the horse only just avoided treading on my face as she got up. I quite hoped to save her, and so sat till she shooting forwards on the top of her head smashed me under her in the road.

July 1.—Off after breakfast with Walpole, Chelmsford, Lord Salisbury, &c., and Prince and Princess of Wales for Wellington College. Back in afternoon. House of Lords' debate on Japan. Spoke against Ministers. Dined at Lady Truro's. Duke of Cambridge, &c.

July 2.—Letters, &c. To Regent's Park Botanical Gardens. Princess Mary came. Luncheon with C. Sykes, Wood, &c. Then wrote. Dined Duke of Manchester's. Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse. A good deal of talk with her. She wonderfully like the Queen, especially in manner, ways, &c.

July 3.—Sunday. Drove down with Arthur Gordon to Chislehurst. Heavy showers. Garden beautiful. The Gladstones there. Morning Holy Communion and no sermon. I preached afternoon. Walk with Gladstone and R. Cavendish ; much talk. Pleasant day.

July 4.—After breakfast drove up to town with Arthur Gordon. Colonial Bishopric Council. Got Gladstone to come. Agreed to reserve Natal Bishopric Fund. Then Royal Commission. Then to House of Commons' debate. Disraeli and Gladstone. Dined at Lord Ebury's.

On July 8 the 'want of confidence motion' which had been moved in the House of Commons on July 4 by Mr. Disraeli, and which had resulted in a majority for the Government of eighteen, was carried in the

House of Lords against the Government by a majority of nine. The following letter to Mr. Gladstone explains the Bishop's reasons for voting with the majority :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

26 Pall Mall, July 8, 1864.

My dear Gladstone,—I cannot go down to the House to vote against a Government of which you are the main prop, without telling you the utter sorrow with which after great misgiving I do it. Your memory is so tenacious that you may perhaps remember our conversation at Hawarden last year. Here is just the fulfilment of the apprehension I there opened to you. If this was *your* Government, or even if you had, in this Government, for Church purposes, the power you ought to have, I should never have voted against it, even if I thought the particular attack true and so could not vote for it. But what can I do? with a Government headed by Palmerston with all his personal disqualifications, and directed by Shaftesbury, with a studied and wilful rejection of your influence on Church questions, how can I do anything to keep it in office? and if, as I believe, John Russell's tone has mainly caused our present entanglements, how can I (if I do not vote merely to keep in the Government) vote against this resolution—and yet the supporting what is counter to you gives me a pang I cannot describe. *Against you*, in the long run, I do not believe it will be. Anything which breaks up or tends to break up Palmerston's supremacy must bring you nearer to the post in which I long to see you; and if I live shall see you. One thing I know your generous heart will do, you will believe with what exceeding pain I shall vote to-night. For you know with what a full confidence in you, what a profound admiration and hearty love I am ever yours

S. OXON.

The debate in the House of Lords on the conduct

of Convocation in the matter of 'Essays and Reviews is shortly stated here. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London as well as the Bishop took part in the debate. A careful perusal of these speeches makes it clear that the Bishops entrusted their defence to the Bishop of Oxford and recognised him as their champion.

On Friday, July 15, Lord Houghton brought under the notice of the House of Lords the question of the synodical condemnation of 'Essays and Reviews' by the Upper House of Convocation, and terminated a long and apparently prepared speech by asking :—

> Whether Her Majesty's Government had taken or were willing to take the opinion of the law officers of the Crown as to the powers of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury to pass a synodical judgment on books written either by clergymen or laymen, as to the immunity of the members of that body from proceedings at common law consequent on such judgments, and as to the forms according to which such judicial power must be exercised if it belongs to that body.

This question was answered by the Lord Chancellor (Westbury) 'that it was not the intention of the Government to take any further steps in the matter.' The Lord Chancellor, in his speech, expounded the law on the matter, and declared that Convocation had no legal right to pronounce such synodical condemnation, because, as all appeals must lie to the Crown, and as there was no appeal to the Crown from such condemnation, therefore the condemnation was illegal. The opinions of Sir Hugh Cairns and Mr. Rolt had been obtained by the Archbishop on the question, and their opinion differed *in toto* from the Lord Chancellor's. So much for the legal bearing of the speech. But the Lord Chancellor, still smarting under the castigation which he had already received from the Bishop, took the opportunity

to make a personal attack on him, who, as he well knew, had been the leading spirit in obtaining the condemnation. He said the 'judgment is simply a series of well-lubricated terms—a sentence so oily and saponacious that no one could grasp it—like an eel, it slips through your fingers and is simply nothing.' The Bishop, replying to this evidently pointed attack, said :—

I have good ground to complain of the tone of the noble and learned lord on the woolsack. If a man has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the tribunal before which he speaks, and when the highest representative of the law of England in your Lordships' Court, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the realm and all those high truths concerning which this discussion is, can think it fitting to descend to a ribaldry in which he knows that he can safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their character to answer him in like sort, I say that this House has ground to complain of having its high character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land by one occupying so high a position within it.[9]

This calm and dignified rebuke was received with cheers from the house. The Bishop then proceeded to demolish the arguments on the legal aspect of the case which had been advanced by the Lord Chancellor. The conclusion of the Bishop's speech is given, and perhaps, as 'The Guardian' observed, Lord Westbury's provocation was 'not that the judgment was a nullity, but that it was indeed too effectual.'

We are set in trust in this land for this—that we may be

[9] A note written by the Archbishop the day before the debate, begging the Bishop to be present, says, 'The Lord Chancellor kindly informed me, that he thinks he shall be satisfied with giving a *grave admonition* to the contumacious Prelates in Convocation, without inflicting the severe penalties which might ensue ! !'

the true depository of the truth which God has revealed, as held by this reformed Church of England. Was it or was it not our duty, when we saw the peace of the Church assailed, to use the instrument which, as we believed, and still believe —I may say with additional force when we see the nice avoidance of the expression of any opinion that we were really in the wrong—firmly was our right, and because it was our right, imposed upon us a corresponding duty? One thing I venture to state is this, that I would rather subject myself, in the presence of my countrymen, and of your noble House, to any amount of that invective and insinuation, and of all those arts, I will not say of what part of the Bar of England, of which we have seen something to-night—I would, I repeat, rather a thousand times incur it all, than have to look back on my deathbed on myself as one of those who had not striven for the truth of our Established Church, and had not encountered, because I was afraid, personally, of the consequences, anything which the maintenance of that truth might entail (cheers). There is, my lords, a single further remark which I should wish to make. We have heard of the importance of preserving peace and quietness on such questions as that we are discussing, and I firmly believe that such a judgment as that which we have pronounced is the best means of preserving peace to the Church. I believe, indeed, that this effect has already been produced. I know, at all events, that from all parts of this country, I have myself received assurances of minds quieted, permitting men to go again about their ordinary duties without being stirred up by the feeling that the Church was resting under an imputation of having allowed to pass uncontradicted false doctrine promulgated by her teachers; and I am satisfied that if you would avoid the recurrence of such a state of things as you have witnessed, you will find that the best way in which that can be done is by allowing the Church in her authorised manner to pronounce for her followers, as she has done in this instance, that she disclaims for her living ministry this erroneous teaching (cheers).

The Lord Chancellor in reply made a short but markedly personal retort, and the subject dropped.

The tone of the debate was so personal that it occasioned a breach of the relations which had previously existed between the Bishop and Lord Westbury. A letter to Mr. Gordon shows that the Chancellor, in February of the following year, attempted to make amends for his conduct :—

> Lord Westbury forced a reconciliation on me, sending Lord St. Germans to ask me to speak to him on the woolsack ; and then asking me 'to take once more his hand,' and hoping 'I had enjoyed my vacation and shot many pheasants.'

It was not for some months, however, that the personal relations which had previously existed between the Bishop and Lord Westbury were really renewed. The circumstances were extremely characteristic of the two men. Some little time after Lord Westbury's resignation, which took place in July 1865, in consequence of a vote of censure, attributing to him laxity and want of caution in filling up appointments and granting pensions to retiring public servants over whose heads grave charges were impending, which was passed by the House of Commons, the Bishop and Lord Westbury met face to face in the lobby of the House of Lords, one going out, the other entering ; when Lord Westbury stopped the Bishop, and holding out his hand said :

'My Lord Bishop, as a Christian and a Bishop, you will not refuse to shake hands.' The Bishop immediately responded to the proffered invitation. Lord Westbury then said : 'Do you remember where we last met ?'[1]

[1] The diary of July 7, 1865, thus records this meeting :—'Going in to the Queen, met Westbury coming out ; his fallen look moved my compassion. Later I met him on the broad staircase looking quite down, as he wandered alone down to the town. But Delane told me that going up to London in the train he was

The Bishop: 'No.'

Lord Westbury: 'It was in the hour of my humiliation, when I was leaving the Queen's Closet, having given up the Great Seal. I met you on the stairs as I was coming out, and I felt inclined to say: "Hast thou found me, oh mine enemy?"'

The Bishop, in relating this, used to say: 'I never was so tempted in my life as I was then to finish the quotation, but by a great effort I kept it down and said:—

'Does your Lordship remember the end of the quotation?'

Lord Westbury: 'We lawyers, my Lord Bishop, are not in the habit of quoting part of a passage without knowing the whole.'

No doubt, as the Bishop said, he went home and looked it out in his family Bible, where he saw: 'Yea, I have found thee, because thou hast sold thyself to work iniquity.'

The following letter evidences Lord Derby's opinion on the above debate:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Stoneleigh Abbey, July 26, 1864.

My dearest Anderson,—How I wish we had you here. It is a most beautiful place, and a very pleasant house and party. The Adderleys, B. Hope, and Lady Mildred, Whewell and Lady Affleck, Dr. and Mrs. Guest, Lord Camden and Lady Frances. We are just off for the first meeting at Warwick of Archeological Society. Give my love to all, especially my dear F—— and E——. I have a letter from Lord Derby this morning, in which he says: 'I am glad to have been spared the pain of witnessing the Chancellor's disgraceful exhibition in the House of Lords, though I own I should like to have

quite uproarious in his jollity, professing such delight at being free from office, going to enjoy himself, foreign travel, &c.

heard your crushing reply.' I am ever, my dearest Anderson, your most affectionate,

S. OXON.

The Bishop also received the following from the Bishop of Exeter :—

Accept my warmest thanks for your triumphant display of your eloquence and talents in the best cause on Friday last. The noble and learned personage who provoked the conflict must have felt (thick-skinned as he may be) the flogging which he drew down on himself. Anything more complete I never knew. I hope that there were a sufficient number of Lay Lords to witness and enjoy the castigation.

Lord Chelmsford, who was present at the debate, in describing it to his great friend Archdeacon Randall, said, 'It was so crushing and at the same time so dignified and free from any appearance of irritation.'

The diary thus refers to the engagements of the day, and also refers to the way the Bishop spent the evening after the debate.

July 15.—Prevost breakfasted. Then to Committee on Clerical Subscription. Then S.P.G. Then Colonial Bishop's Council. House of Lords, the Chancellor's insolent speech and reply. To Mr. Moore's, and addressed his young men and women on 'the London we live in.' Very late at night, getting everything ready for leaving town.

The following extract is from the address referred to in the diary :—

In London men and women were wonderfully insulated. In a village everybody knew everybody else. There was a great constraint in that. They lived under a continual observation. But a man came to London and no one knew about him. He (the Bishop) recollected his first night in London. He looked out of the bedroom window of the little inn in which he was staying, at the surging crowd which passed and re-passed beneath him; and he could have screamed for

someone who knew him, or knew somebody he knew, or something about which he could talk to them. This feeling of isolation in the midst of a vast crowd was absolutely painful. . . . Coleridge said that every man's face was either a history or a prophecy. He thought it was both. He liked to wander in the crowd and look at the faces of the people; though he could often shed tears as he passed through the streets, and witness sights which every one of them might witness if observant. They might see a poor woman, for instance, with vice, wretchedness, and misery plainly marked upon her countenance, holding a child in her arms. That child would move, and in the mother's look, as she turned towards it, they could see a remnant of her better self—an indication of the existence of a hallowed feeling which might be made an influence for good in the work of her restoration to the paths of purity and peace. By way of safeguard, let them try to bear in mind that they were really not alone, though they seemed to be so, but that they were influencing many for good or for evil every day, if not every hour. Let them try to influence them for good, not by canting, which always did harm, but by living as real men. Even though their light were but as that of the glowworm beneath the bush, let them be ever anxious to do good to those around them. Let them beware of the influence of their example on those who were younger. Let theirs not be found to be an influence for evil, but let them each day set about the day's toil and face the day's temptations with the resolve to do all the good they could.

He was not going to preach to them there, but he told them that all other safeguards were of little value without religion. It was a delusion to suppose that the cultivation of the mere intellect would cure the deep-seated wound of sin-fallen humanity. . . . He concluded by urging them, as far as possible, to spend their hours of relaxation in the country, where they could enjoy the beauties of nature, and to avoid all that was ungodly or even unmanly.

In August the Bishop was in North Wales, partly holiday-making, and partly attending meetings for S.P.G.

August 28.—(Bangor.) Up in good time. Prepared sermon on 'Ten Lepers.' Collected 47*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*—more than double what had been before collected. Archdeacon Jones preached a good plain sermon in the afternoon. Walked with the Bishop; a good deal of talk; a good, sober, humble man.

August 29.—Wrote; then to Cathedral; wrote again. With the Bishop and Mrs. Clarke to Llandudno. Luncheon with the Dean of Christ Church, with whom W. Richmond. Good S. P. G. meeting. With Williams to Archdeacon Jones'. Dean of Christ Church and Mrs. Liddell, &c., dined.

August 30.—Morning: walk with Archdeacon Jones, who very pleasant and communicative. 'Cyril Jackson[2] a man of very warm affections; quite probable that he would take the side of affections as against Horsley taking the intellect as the chief thing in religion. He never forsook a friend, or forgot his interests. When Canterbury was vacant, and Pitt had tried to get George IV. to appoint Pretyman, the Duke of Portland went to Pitt to urge Jackson. Pitt said, "I have done all I can for my friend; go and see what you can do for yours." But the King would not hear of it. When Cyril Jackson and M—— were removed from the Prince of Wales Cyril Jackson's chief offence was not calling to inquire after the wife of the Prince's governor after her confinement. M—— said to the King, "You may easily replace me; you will not Jackson." Then C. Jackson was to have a Bishopric. Peterborough and St. Asaph were vacant. At that time Lord Cornwallis was carrying on his great successes, so Bishop Cornwallis came to Pitt and said, "It is my brother's particular object that Dr. Madan should have Peterborough." This was a lie. Pitt said, "I suppose Jackson will not care which he has; let it be so." Jackson told me, "It made the whole difference in the world to me. My father was then living in the diocese of Peterborough, and it would have broken his heart if I had refused *that*; but he did not care about St. Asaph, so I was able to refuse it." Then they offered him the Irish Primacy, which also he refused. W. Jackson unlike him in everything. Taking that retirement in Sussex killed Jackson. Addington was Horsley's patron;

[2] Dean of Christ Church.

Horsley wrote to him a full statement of his ruined affairs, and asked for St. Asaph; Addington gave it. Then a living fell, and he was going to give it to his son; but Robson, who held a bill of his, said, "No, my son must have it, or I put the bill in force;" so his son got it and all sorts of other things.'

August 31.—Up betimes; wrote; a walk with Gladstone along ridge of stone quarries and on the shoulder of the Penmaenmawr mountain; curious to see his strong mind so unbend: his head easily giddy; cannot bear even the near approach to a precipice; kind to all his children, and loved by them.

From this place the Bishop writes to his son Reginald:—

I came here on Tuesday to visit Gladstone, and am leaving him to-day after a very pleasant visit. It is so full of interest to see a man like Gladstone at leisure and with his family, all so united and so affectionate. It is really a beautiful place, and I have had two good long uphill walks to set me up. My beloved son, above all things seek, now you are afar from us all, to live to God. Your life must be more risked than here; be prepared for whatever may happen. If it be only one verse, read the Bible every day. Think how Jacob returned to his old father's side, *because* God had prospered him. This is nearest to my heart; for this, above all other things, I pray for you daily, and often many times a day and in the deep night. May God bless you.

A letter to his son Ernest, written from Conway, August 30, touches upon other incidents of this Welsh visit:—

Your dear letter gladdened my eyes this morning. It is always such a pleasure hearing from you. I was well tired—not over tired—Sunday and yesterday at a great meeting at Llandudno; was very tired, but nothing the matter.

I read my office on the hillside of this beautiful house before breakfast this morning, in a little wood on the mountain quite full of living things, including a grand snake and a

most playful little weasel which came close without seeing me. I could lift up my heart high in God's praises looking at the glorious sea and the everlasting hills whose foundations He has laid. I am going by-and-by to walk over the hill to Penmaenmawr. To-day is perfectly delicious—warm, with a most pleasant breeze. My host is eighty-three, in full vigour. Such a green old age! He has been walking over the hill with us, and telling me stories about Cyril Jackson, Horsley, &c. &c.

In August the Bishop held a large Conference of Clergy at Oxford; as some of the writers in 'Essays and Reviews' and Bishop Colenso in his works had questioned the Inspiration of Scripture, the Bishop took this opportunity of declaring his belief on the subject. The speech was somewhat incorrectly reported, and this drew from the Bishop a letter, which was published in 'The Guardian,' in which he corrects the misquotation and summarises his belief. The letter was addressed to an Oxford Rector:—

August 17.

'I said nothing of the sort attributed to me in these extracts. Perhaps the subject was too abstruse to be treated so briefly, and this has led to misapprehension. In brief, my belief is this:—The whole Bible comes to us as 'the Word of God' under the sanction of God the Holy Ghost. We cannot pick and choose amidst its contents; all is God's Word to us. But, as I believe that this, which I hold as the only orthodox view, is encompassed with many difficulties by what is called the theory of 'Verbal Inspiration,' I desired to show how, in my judgment, a careful scrutiny of the Bible revealed the 'divers manners' in which the Holy Ghost spake—

1. Sometimes by the mere mechanical use of the human agent who conveyed the message, as when (1) God wrote words on the first tables; (2) dictated them for the second; or (3) committed them to prophets simply to repeat; or (4) spake them through the prophets.

2. Sometimes by possessing the human instrument with a

complete knowledge of that he was to speak, and leaving him to express it under the mere suggestions and guardianship of his own special presence according to the natural use of the human faculties. I desired, I say, to show how this would greatly lessen these difficulties, and enable men to realise the essential differences between Holy Scripture and any other books, namely that, as all truth comes from God, other books may be in a sense said to be inspired because they are true, but Holy Scripture alone can be affirmed to be true because it is inspired.

These extracts are taken from letters to the son in India :—

Wilton House, September 16, 1866.

I am going to-morrow to work in the diocese; next Tuesday I am to marry Miss Campbell; then the Ordination, and next Monday we go, I hope, to Lavington. But I can only spend three weeks there this year, because of work to do on the other side of it. . . . I think I have now quite got the better of the straining my neck when Worcester fell.

October 17.—(Lavington.) We have had Frank Buckland down for a few days, and very good fun he was—full of his natural history, and so simple and unaffected as to make him really very charming indeed. He has put them on trying to make the trout fishing better; so we are moving the sheep-wash, which he says poisons the fish, to the bottom of Graffham village—and there are to be regular spawning-beds kept.

The diary continues :—

October 28.—(Hastings.) Beautiful morning. Read office, wrote, &c., before breakfast—after, many letters. To Hastings with the Duke of Cleveland at Curates' Additional Aid Society, and kindly received. Walked along the beach by my childhood's haunts—the great rocks, the caves, the sands, the boats—strange returns of the old life looking in on me. The Dean of Battle dined. Saw dear old Mrs. Neale.

The Bishop in his speech on the occasion said :—

By the providence of God this much is certain, and must be admitted by every one, that the Church of England, as

treated at present by the State and the nation, is the religious teacher of the people. Mark you that this is so. There has been given, and I think very properly given, perfect liberty to all other religious bodies—and I for one would not see that liberty infringed upon by prerogative or other legislation in the least degree. But that is not in the least degree giving up the claim that the Church of England is the teacher of the people. It is saying, 'We provide what we believe to be the properly constituted system of teaching; but if others think differently, we do not enforce upon their consciences that which they condemn, but leave them to provide another for themselves if their consciences dictate to them to do so. . . .

If you ask me how I can say that the Church of England is the only Apostolic Church in the land, I say that she only possesses the two qualifications, perfectness of organisation in a transmitted line of authorised teachers from the Apostles, as Apostles from the Lord, combining with that the true transmission of the primitive doctrine. The Church of Rome, as I maintain, failed on both sides. . . . And then of our brethren who do not belong to the Church of Rome, some of whom are coming nearer to us in very many vital doctrines, while others are by infinitesimal degrees receding into the distant, cold, shadowy ground which we scarcely hold to belong even to Christianity upon the most charitable solution, because they deny the Godhead of the one Lord, our Redeemer; dealing with them as a body, I say that I believe them to be bad Churchmen. I believe, through the Church of England established in this land, they have received the Bible, the great outline of the Christian Creed, the Holy Baptism, and therefore that they have been admitted into the Church of Christ, but they are bad members of that Church. I rejoice at every single declaration of truth which any one of them makes. I rejoice when I see piety, that kindly saving work of the Spirit, for there can be no true piety which is not the work of grace—and I would not tie the blessed working of the free Spirit of God down to any channel; but I maintain that it is not at all a corollary that therefore we should doubt that the great blessing is the appointed channel. I may tell a man in the midst of drought, 'Put out

your handkerchief for the drop of rain, and wring it out for your child;' but I do not say that is as good as going to the never-failing well and drawing out the bounteous and clear stream whenever the children want it. Why not treat it as logical to put the two things together? I am confident that the way to be on the most friendly terms with all those non-conformists around us with whom it is worth while being on friendly terms—and it is worth while being on friendly terms with every honest and true man—I say that the most certain means to be on good terms with them is to speak out our own truth fearlessly and kindly, and let them perceive the difference between us. If you go mystifying and shillyshallying them, and saying they are just the same as we, and, 'My dear brother, there is no difference between us;' if so, why in the world don't we share the tithes with them? It seems most monstrous hypocrisy to go and say, 'Beloved brethren, we are all one; but you shall not come into my pulpit.' Now, how much better to go to the man and say, 'If you love the Lord Christ, I honour and love you because you love Him; but I differ from you upon great and important matters. I do not love you the less because I differ from you: but I am charged to teach, not a certain amount of truth mixed with a certain amount of error—I am charged to teach the truth of Christ as I have received it, without addition or subtraction, even though I win the universe by adding or subtracting from it.' This is the only ground which can thoroughly secure a mutual and good understanding between honest Christian men; and there must be that understanding unless each party is to put on the grimaces of agreement, and then turn aside for the reality of discord. That being the case, I have no hesitation about this resolution. I say that undoubtedly, because the Church of England has come down from the Apostles' time, with the ministry which the Lord Jesus founded—because there has been no break in the succession of our Bishops, to whom Christ said, 'As my Father in Heaven sent me, so send I you; he that heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me;' and upon whom He breathed when He said, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;' because, I

say, that at this moment the Bishops of the Church of England are by unbroken succession the descendants and representatives of the original twelve, and because they come with the same Creed, the same Gospel, and the same Sacraments, declaring the same only truth of the name of Christ and His people, because they occupy in this land a position which no other body of religionists can prove with legitimate accuracy that they share or divide with them.

On November 5, the Rev. Newman Hall wrote to the Bishop about this speech; he said that he thought the speech was

> The true utterance of a thorough Churchman, who, convinced that he holds important truth which others do not, can yet feel and express himself with frank courtesy towards those who differ, and value their co-operation as far as they hold truth in common. . . . I can testify that I have experienced greater courtesy from those Churchmen between whom and myself there is a marked and plainly announced difference than from those whose opinions have much more nearly coincided with my own. . . . I honour your Lordship for all those great practical efforts you yourself make and encourage in others to evangelise the heathendom around us, and I pray God long to spare your valuable life to 'provoke unto love and to good works.'

From 'The Guardian,' November 16:—

> The Bishop of Oxford has been making a complete provincial progress. Last month he was in East Anglia, and yesterday week he spoke at Lincoln on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He also gave the local School of Art the benefit of his eloquence. From Lincoln the Bishop passed on to York, where he spoke at a meeting of unusual importance, having been addressed by six prelates, viz. the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Barbadoes, and Bishop Nixon. From York the Bishop of Oxford went to Hull, preaching and speaking at that town this week.
>
> On Saturday week the Bishops of Oxford and Lincoln

visited the lace warehouse of Mr. Adams in Nottingham. After inspecting the various departments, their lordships officiated at the usual morning service held at the private chapel of the warehouse. The Bishop of Oxford delivered a most impressive sermon to the workpeople.

In November, the Bishop, writing from Alnwick to his son, relates how he had been spending his time :—

Alnwick Castle, November 16.

I am very anxious about Basil's health, and break many a night's rest with the thought of him and of you in your lonely distance. I have been about the diocese for work, and then went to help the Bishop of Lincoln for two days, and then on to pay a visit to the Archbishop of York at Bishopthorpe, returning to the diocese in about a fortnight. . . . I hope you won't be rash when the winter comes on, either with your wild beasts or with the climate. . . The farmers are grumbling terribly at the price of wheat, and feeding stock on it. The only things which keep them up at all are the price of wool and meat. I came up to York for S. P. G., and visited the Andersons at Lea. From York I came on here to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is here with two daughters. This is a most noble house, I suppose the finest subject's house in Great Britain, and the Duke is furnishing it in the most costly way with carving, marbles, &c. To-morrow I go homewards to Lord Manvers', and on Friday to dear E—[3] to dine and sleep, and go on Saturday after to a preaching and Confirmation at Stony Stratford ; thence to Windsor, &c. How I wish I could see some of your grand mountain views with you !

On Friday November 25, the Bishop presided at the annual meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for augmenting the endowments of small livings. The Bishop at this meeting was helped by a considerable number of distinguished laity, among others by Mr. Disraeli, who made a long speech, in which he gave utterance to his Church policy; this was the celebrated speech

[3] His daughter.

in which he declared himself on the 'side of the angels. The Bishop, who opened the proceedings, after pointing out how the poverty of the minister necessarily affected his power of work amongst the laity, went on to show how important it was to the laity that the clergy should be gentlemen. He said:—

I maintain this, that the ministry of the Church of England has been hitherto, and is at this time, filled by gentlemen of the nation of England, by men who have had a gentle education, who have come often—yea, and in most numerous cases—of gentle, and even of the highest blood of this land, and who have entered the Church with all that distinctive formation of character which comes from such an education and such an inheritance. I say that it cannot continue to be for any number of years if the Clergy, as compared with other liberal professions, are notoriously ill-paid. It is perfectly true, of course, that with no payment at all some loftier spirits would, for the love of souls alone, devote themselves to this work; but a great national establishment cannot reckon on such extreme cases for its supply of ministers. There may be a multitude below that highest mark who may be perfectly qualified to serve God in the ministry of the Church, but who yet have not within them, it may be from their youth or other causes, spirits trained up to that point that they are contented for the sake of that ministry to give up the hope of family affection and of taking in the society around them the position to which they have been born as the sons of gentlemen and bred as the sharers of a gentle education. At the present moment, if the endowments of the Church of England were divided among the beneficed Clergy by an equalizing law of universal distribution, they would not secure the supply of gentlemen for the ministry of the English Church, which England has had up to this time, and which it is of the greatest moment she should continue to have. . . . It is of the first moment that the leaders of thought should find their equals in education, in thinking, among the ministers of the English Church. It is of the utmost moment that men in high rank should find

standing beside them in the ranks of the Church their equals in birth and their fellows in education, and, if anything, it is still more desirable that the poor of England should be ministered to by England's gentlemen. What we mean by 'gentleman' is just this—it is that habit of putting self down and of exalting to an equality with himself those to whom he is ministering. It is just that which belongs to the character of the English gentleman, and there are no people in this country who feel more acutely, whether you give them credit for it or not, the difference of being ministered to by such a man, or by one who—no blame to him, because he has never had the opportunity of gaining the same high temper—comes to them wanting that which is the countersign of the true English gentleman.

Speaking at a conference of clergy and laity at Reading in 1866, the Bishop thus further enlarges on the necessary qualifications of a clergyman; having dwelt upon the usefulness of lay help, he said:—

If the Clergy were shallow in their views, and did not keep up to the current literature which more or less bore upon the great religious questions of the day, they were not equal to their office. It was just the same as a man in the high medical science, who only knew it as it was a hundred years ago, who did not understand the new forms disease had taken, and knew of no new light thrown upon the treatment of them, and applying those remedies which were formerly used; he would be altogether useless in his profession—and so it was in the same degree with the clergy, they must know the aspect of the present times, and they required time to study them.

The following is an extract from a letter to Mr. Gordon, who was still abroad:—

December 7, 1864.

The Duke (of Newcastle) is an exceeding loss to us as regards all Church matters, and I think we shall find it out more and more continually. There is nothing to tell you. Palmerston seems stronger than ever; Gladstone, I think, is

certainly gaining power—you hear now almost every one say he must be the future premier, and such sayings tend greatly to accomplish themselves. Lord R. Cavendish has lately been with me—himself in all ways. In Church matters we are anxious about the approaching Colenso appeal. The Chancellor will do all the evil he can to God's truth and Church.

CHAPTER VI.

(1865–66.)

LETTER TO MR. GORDON—PROPOSED VISIT TO SOUTH OF FRANCE—OXFORD UNIVERSITY ELECTION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE—CUDDESDON COLLEGE FESTIVAL—LETTER TO FATHER IGNATIUS—INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE—ORDINATION AT LAVINGTON—QUEEN EMMA—TOUR IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND—THE BISHOP'S DIARY—JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1866—LETTERS TO SONS—SIR C. ANDERSON—AND A CLERGYMAN.

NEW Year's day was spent at Lavington, where the Bishop remained till January 7. The diary for that day is :—

Much packing, putting away, and preparing. I rode down to the station; the day lovely; looked back from the Common on my paradise, and longed to stay. To Addington. Rode with the Archbishop—he very poorly.

In February the Bishop writes to Mr. Gordon :—

What Gladstone is to head is all uncertain. Walpole still thinks that, having gone a certain way with the Radicals, he will on some Church measure wheel round and break wholly with them. Lord Derby is full of his Iliad, and bides his time. I do not believe Pam thinks of retiring: he means, I believe, to dissolve as soon as the estimates are voted in the summer. We know not what will be the issue of the Colenso case; if only the tribunal was a fair one, I should be very glad that those great questions were thoroughly sifted and settled. There is still great indignation as to the 'Essays and Reviews' judgment. The Bishop of London and his chaplain have put forth a volume in defence of the Court full of misstatement. The most interesting book I have met with is Pusey's on Daniel—quite a first-rate book. I have, too, been very much interested in 'Le Maudit' and 'La

Religieuse' by the Abbé Michon. The Russian scheme halts at present, but I have a floating vision of getting to Rome for Easter. I am well, thank God—overworked, but well!

The Russian scheme above alluded to was for promoting intercourse between the English and American branches of the Church and the Eastern Church. Later on in the year the Bishop, who took a great interest in this scheme, presided at a meeting held in London, which was attended by the Bishop of Lincoln and others, who were equally interested; Prince Orloff being present as representing the Russian Church. The other plan, that of spending Easter in Rome, is thus referred to in a letter to the son in India:—

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

House of Lords, April 3, 1865.

We had a most successful mission this year to Marlow. I finished this day last week, and left off with a cold on my chest, which is only just leaving me. I have been at Pall Mall since. . . . I am hoping to take a little run this Easter to see your uncle William at Cannes—as, if Basil is reading for his final schools, I can be better than usual spared, and I think a little South of France air would get rid of this bronchial irritation more than anything else.

Why the Bishop gave up the proposed trip is shown by this letter:—

London, April 17 (Easter Monday).

All was ready for my start to Cannes, down even to the sea-sickness powders, when my companions quite unintentionally failed me, and business multiplied in the diocese, and I did not like leaving Basil; and as it was to be a *pleasure* seeking (for I had quite a passionate longing to see spring break out in the South of France), I thought Providence seemed to say, Give it up. So after tossing about all

one night, and thinking it over, I gave it up, and wrote instead to make a dozen diocesan engagements. I was happier, only I feared it might hurt your uncle William; but to-day I have a very kind letter from him, sorry, but quite understanding. So I have stayed alone here to preach my sermon yesterday at the Chapel Royal, and I do not think I ever did it with greater comfort; all my experience proves to me that doing one's duty is happiness.

I go down to Taplow to-day; to Nuneham to-morrow; to Cuddesdon Wednesday, and stay there, except going out to preach at Witney on Sunday, till Friday 28th. Next week, Archdeacons and Rural Deans come for the annual gathering. Every one is abusing —— to the utmost; he is a clever owl, or, as I overheard one journeyman painter say to another as I walked down from Church to-day, 'He's a confounded uppish bloke!' I long for another letter. Ever since I knew you would be out on your shooting excursions I have prayed with all my might against the tigers every single day.

Near Shiplake, July 2, 1865.

My dearest Reginald,—Here I am with Basil beside me in the train going down to preach two sermons at Shiplake and Wargrave to-day. . . . We are all very full of the coming elections. I am very much afraid that Gladstone may lose his seat: they seem neck and neck, and no one can tell how the voting papers will affect the election. Old Palmerston is breaking, and I think it very doubtful if he can meet another Parliament.

Glenthorne, July 16, 1865.

I am down here, having come yesterday with Bas. on a visit to a cousin of the Bishop of Salisbury, who, with one of his boys, is the only one besides who is here. It is a beautiful spot on the sea-shore, just at the Somersetshire end of Devon, on the side of a very steep hill with the woods setting down into the sea. I have had very hard work lately, and just finished our annual Conference at Oxford, and am come here till next Wednesday—when I have to go away in order to preach at Chichester Cathedral—for a little change and rest. I have just been praying for you this beautiful Sunday

morning, with my window open on the sea. How prayer does unite us, however far we may be parted in space!

The following letter of the Bishop to Mr. Gladstone, refers to the election for the University of Oxford, which Mr. Gladstone had represented for eighteen years. The opposition to him was headed by Archdeacon Denison on account of the part taken by Mr. Gladstone on the Education question. That Mr. Gladstone was defeated by Mr. Hardy is well known, but that he was defeated by those members of the constituency who had the least interest in education, is not so well known. It is a fact, however, that nearly all the professors, tutors, lecturers, and fellows voted in the minority, and were outnumbered by the country clergy:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Glenthorne, Lynmouth, July 18, 1865.

My dear Gladstone,—I have just received the account of the numbers polled at Oxford up to last night, and I cannot forbear expressing to you my grief and indignation at the result. It is needless for me to say that everything I could with propriety do I did heartily, to save our University this great loss and dishonour, as well as from a loving honour of you. But the truth is that, except on the footing which Sir R. Peel's last contest destroyed, the University of Oxford is about the worst constituency existing for a man before his age in intellectual development and above it in self-respect. Of course, if half of these men had known what I know of your real devotion to our Church, that would have outweighed their hatred of a Government which gave Waldegrave to Carlisle, and Baring to Durham, and the youngest Bishop on the Bench to York, and supported Westbury in seeking to deny for England the faith of our Lord. But they could not be made to understand the truth, and have inflicted on the

University and the Church the gross indignity of rejecting the best, noblest, and truest son of each, in order to punish Shaftesbury and Westbury. You were too great for them. In all heartiest affection and honour I am, my dear Gladstone, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

Mr. Gladstone's reply is as follows :—

Hawarden, July 21, 1865.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—Your letter comes amid many and most kind ones, but I am deeply sensible of its overflowing kindness. I do not doubt that this to me great event is all for good, and the consolations of cordial support, indulgent judgment, and warm affection are given me in abundance—in more than abundance by you.

Do not conceal from yourself that my hands are much weakened. It was only as representing Oxford that a man whose opinions are disliked and suspected could expect or could have a title to be heard. I look upon myself now as a person wholly extraneous on one great class of questions; with respect to legislative and Cabinet matters I am still an unit.

But as far as my will, my time, my thoughts are concerned —they are where they ever were.

I have had too much of personal collision with Lord Westbury to be a fair judge in his case; but, in your condemnation of him, as respects attacks upon Christian doctrine, do not forget either what coadjutors he has had, or with what painful and lamentable indifference not only the public, but so many of the Clergy, so many of the warmest religionists, looked on.

Do not join with others in praising me because I am not angry, only sorry, and that deeply. For my revenge, which I do not desire, but would baffle if I could—all lies in that little word 'future' in my address, which I wrote with a consciousness that it is deeply charged with meaning, and that that which shall come will come.

There have been two great deaths, or transmigrations of spirit, in my political existence—one, very slow, the breaking of ties with my original party; the other, very short and

sharp, the breaking of the tie with Oxford. There will probably be a third, and no more.

Again, my dear Bishop, I thank and thank you for bearing with my waywardness, and manifesting, in the day of need, your confidence and attachment. Ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

To this affectionate answer the Bishop thus replied:—

July 24, 1865.

My dear Gladstone,—I thank you very specially for your kind language to me.

There is one expression of yours which I wish I were quite sure I understood aright—'There will probably be a third, and no more.' And now will you let me once more say that your present position seems to me energetically to require you to take (when the occasion comes) the step which Canning took when he claimed the Premiership. I put aside Church considerations because they are so obvious that they need no statement. But politically for yourself—and that is, I believe, the same thing as for our country—this seems to me a paramount necessity: your charge is what Pitt's was, it is to make England wealthy, to diffuse that wealth specially among the working classes, to enlarge and to purify our institutions. In doing this, if you early put yourself at the head of a Government and disclose your views, you may command an immense support from all real patriots on all sides, and you will be true to yourself, to your earliest and to your present noble self. You are not a Radical, and yet you may, by political exigencies, if you submit to be second, be led into heading a Radical party until its fully developed aims assault all that you most value in our country, and it (the Radical party) turns upon you and rends you. You have never had fair play, or you would now have a vast ostensible following. All the opposition you would have to meet would be at first if you took your proper place.

Pardon me for venturing on all this; your lovingkindness is answerable for it. I am, my dear Gladstone, very affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Osborne, July 28, 1865.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—The oracular sentence has little bearing on present affairs or prospects, and may stand in its proper darkness. But the hortatory part of your letter, coming, as it does, from you, with such sincerity, such authority, and such affection, I must not pass unnoticed. I think that if you had the same means of estimating my position, jointly with my faculties, as I have, you would be of a different opinion. It is my fixed determination never to take any step whatever to raise myself to a higher level in official life; and this, not on grounds of Christian self-denial, which would hardly apply, but on the double ground, first, of my total ignorance of my capacity, bodily or mental, to hold such a higher level; and secondly—perhaps I might say especially—because I am certain that the fact of my seeking it would seal my doom in taking it. This is a reason of a very practical kind; every day brings me fresh evidence of its force and soundness. Ever affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The annual festival of Cuddesdon was held on June 13. The diary for which day is:—

Early Communion. Breakfast, and second service; Archbishop of York preached a good sermon. About with visitors, and lunch in tent—all very hearty. Evening service at six.

The Archbishop of York spoke twice: first returning thanks for his own health proposed by the Bishop, and secondly proposing the Bishop's health. In the first of these speeches he said that his mind had undergone a great change with regard to the usefulness of Cuddesdon College. He had at one time, with other members of the University, doubted the prudence of founding such an institution; that feeling, however,

had long passed away both from his mind, and also, he believed, from that of Oxford. Cuddesdon was now established beyond all cavil as a real working place, and as a true handmaid to the University. The second speech referred not only to the Bishop's working power, but to his ubiquity. He said that—

> Every man who left his impress on the age was many-sided. This was eminently a characteristic of their Bishop. See him now, and you would say he shone most as a genial and ready host; but follow him to his work to-morrow—that is, if you will take the chance of having to get up at half-past five and to travel a hundred miles by rail—and you would say that he had given his whole attention to pulpit eloquence. Ask some friend to write you word of his afternoon's occupations—for you will despair of being able to follow him fast enough yourself—and you will hear that he is presiding with the utmost tact and success over some difficult meeting or troublesome committee. No wonder the newspapers tell us every now and then that his health is failing, and that he is ordered off to the South of France for a year! But we may comfort ourselves with the thought that there is an easier remedy: he is now doing the work of six men; he has but to sink down awhile to the work of two, and that will be as good as rest to him!

The next letter explains itself. Suffice it to say it was written to Mr. Lyne, the clergyman who was better known under the name of 'Father Ignatius' than any other. It is hardly necessary to add that he neglected the good and earnest advice the Bishop gave him:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. J. L. Lyne.

Broughton Castle, Banbury, June 5, 1865.

My dear Sir,—Your letter raises some questions to which it would not, in my judgment, be right for me to reply. I should not be justified in pronouncing any opinion on what

the Bishop of Norwich does in administering his diocese. Such an interference would be in me a violation of the Church's order. But this much I may say: that no one can be repelled from Holy Communion in his own parish church, except upon a legal ground. . . . But now will you let me, as you have consulted me, speak my own mind to you. Watching your course, so far as I have been able to do it from a distance, I have come to such conclusions as the following: 1. That God has given you great energy, great powers of usefulness, and a noble spirit of self-devotion to His service. That the present day specially needs such gifts, and that had you also the wisdom which is profitable to direct, there is hardly any limit to the service you might render to Him, and to your brethren in His Church. 2. But that the greater part of this usefulness you are flinging hopelessly away. (*a*) Your adoption of a dress, *never* suited to English habits—and now preeminently unsuitable—is a sacrifice of the kernel to the shell such as I have hardly ever seen equalled. (*b*) That in adopting this startling exterior, you are acting in direct opposition to the principle on which the Order you have assumed did act. For they took the dress to help the work. You mar the work to have the dress. In this merely outward thing I am bound to say that I see the key to all your real hindrances. You are sacrificing everywhere the great reality for which you have sacrificed yourself to the puerile imitation of a past phase of service which it is just as impossible for you to revive in England as it would be for you to resuscitate an Egyptian mummy and set it upon the throne of the Pharaohs. Now, my dear sir, all this I fear, unless you can be persuaded to review your whole position, will make your life useless. But even this is not all. I believe that colleges of clergymen, living together and acting under the parochial clergy, might meet many of our great spiritual wants; further, I believe that brotherhoods of unordained men not in Holy Orders might be of most excellent use; but if you persist in your present line you will indeed make it practically impossible that for another generation such efforts should succeed. I therefore earnestly beseech you for your own sake, for the sake of those you would fain benefit, and for the sake of the

very cause you have espoused, that you would reconsider your whole course, and be brave enough to follow the advice which I believe every sober-minded man would give, and enter on it anew with all its old energy, and purged from its destructive elements. I am, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

In June the Bishop was laid up with a feverish attack for three or four days. On the 23rd the diary entry is :—

A poor night again, yet better. S.P.G. Meeting. House of Lords, and spoke on increase of Bishops. Satisfied people.

The subject here alluded to was the petition from Clergy and Laity presented by Lord Lyttelton for an increase of the Episcopate. An extract is given from the Bishop's speech in answer to Lord Shaftesbury, who had said that an increase of the Episcopate could only be made at the expense of the Parochial system. The Bishop said :—

If there was no Bishop of London there would be no Bishop of London's fund. The same might be said in respect of the Bishop of Winchester and other members of the Episcopal body. Where would these funds have been if there had been no Bishop to urge and superintend the collection of the money? That was arguing the question on the lowest ground, but if they could show that there were large districts of country which were not sufficiently supplied with Episcopal overlooking, they might say they wanted, by increasing the Bishops, to increase the shepherds under them, and the folds under those shepherds. The efficiency of diocesan management did not depend merely on the multiplication of clergy or of churches, important as were these elements of success. It depended more on the spirit in which the parishes were worked, in which the pulpits were filled, in which the cottages were visited; and it is the Bishop who must be the main instrument in encouraging the zealous, in stirring up the faint-hearted, in animating the despondent; he

must be to his clergy the example and the mainspring of holy living and dying for the people committed to their care.

The Bishop held his September Ordination at Lavington. On the Saturday before the Ordination one who had been ordained deacon by the Bishop of Chichester, came over with his uncle—an old friend of the Bishop's. His account of the visit is noticeable as showing the Bishop's great geniality of manner with those with whom he happened to be thrown in contact, even when he was but slightly acquainted with them :—

I was struck, first, by the Bishop's wonderful versatility and powers of conversation.

In walking over the breezy pastures of his estate, his conversation was almost entirely one long 'Hymn of Praise' to the God and the beauties of Nature.

Among other things, he said: 'If it were *man's duty* to settle at Lavington, and enjoy this peaceful atmosphere, these balmy breezes, these beautiful views, to cultivate one's farm, and tend one's garden, *who would wish to go to town?*'

Then, as I walked by his side, on my saying I was a student of botany, he instantly put my powers—I was but in my twenty-third year—to the test, by asking with which of the rare wild flowers of the Sussex Weald and Downs I was acquainted? On my confessing that I knew nothing of the Sussex *flora*, but was going to a curacy in Sussex, and intended to cultivate there this one of my favourite pursuits, he said: 'You will find your love for Nature one of your greatest blessings and safeguards in a country parish. Read theological works, but not those of professed polemics; above all read your Bible. And when you have comforted the sick and sorrowful, and can call an honest hour your own, go out and botanize; study natural history—you have a love for it, and do not paralyse your simple love for nature.'

Then, pointing to a small plantation, he said: 'That is one of my children; I planted it, and I love no spot so well as the turf around this plantation.'

And then—we were nearing the parish church, or that of

some neighbouring parish (Archdeacon Randall, I remember, was the preacher, the Bishop reading the second lesson), the Bishop suddenly plucked a leaf from the turf and said: 'This is one of the rarer wild flowers,' and instantly gave me off-hand *a list* of some of the rarer flora to be found in Sussex.

I had just been ordained by the then Bishop of Chichester; at the Ordination only one other gentleman was ordained (Deacon's orders) with myself. On the Bishop's hearing this he said: 'Dear good Bishop, if only I had known in time, I would have made him turn you and the other candidate both over to me. You had everything but one—namely, the sympathy that comes from being ordained amid a goodly number, the same sympathy of common hopes and fears that makes praying in the Church easier than private prayer to some natures. I wish I had known all this in time.'

One more point struck me: the kindly, warm-hearted way in which, outside the church doors, the Bishop stayed to talk with farmer or labouring man; constantly shaking hands most affectionately with them. My remembrance of his witty conversation at dinner, on the Saturday night preceding this Sunday, is this: that he had, for the time, completely thrown aside and forgotten the seriousness of the day; he had been having his *private* interviews with each one of the candidates for Ordination.

His conversation was one flow of wit; the party at table consisting of his daughter-in-law, his chaplain, the candidates for Ordination, the Rev. J. W. Burgon, and one or two other clergymen of distinction. The conversation turned upon some clergyman in his own diocese, well known to the Bishop and Mr. Burgon; and the latter said, laughingly, 'Well, but my Lord, after all, he is a very *sound* man!' 'He is, indeed, with a vengeance,' said the Bishop; 'if you mean *vox et præterea nihil.* Do you know, Burgon,' he added, quaintly and archly enough, 'I never hear the north-west wind blow on Sunday but what it troubles me to think that poor —— is preaching?'

The gentleman who supplied the foregoing narrative relates a remarkable instance of the Bishop's power of

recollection. Years after this meeting the Bishop was holding a Confirmation at a small parish in Surrey, where his former acquaintance had been helping the Incumbent. He came into the vestry surpliced, with several other clergy. The Bishop, as he himself describes, 'singled me out in a moment. "You are Mr. ——, but how you are altered. Well, it is many years since we met; let me shake you by the hand." Not one man in a thousand, I fancy, would have known me, so much had I altered since I had last seen the Bishop. It struck me at the moment, he would make *a first-rate detective.* But, he often said that, once seen, he never forgot a face.'

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Stinchcombe, August 3, 1865.

The last post brought me nothing from you. I want to hear, for I have had too many losses not to have a heart easily shaken, even though I have, I trust, committed indeed my precious ones to God's great keeping. . . . I am on my way to hold a great confirmation of sailors for the Bishop of Exeter at Plymouth next week, and then go back to Cuddesdon to receive the Queen of the Sandwich Islands. Then the next week we are to go to Lavington, and have, I hope, some six weeks together there. I am greatly looking forward to this, only I so long to have you also when we are there.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Palace, Salisbury, August 17.

I am come for S.P.G. here, and go back Saturday for another day's work in the Diocese, and then join them at Lavington, where I shall want you exceedingly. We have had the Queen of the Sandwich Islands at Cuddesdon. We were all very much pleased with her, and she is coming again to us at Lavington for two days. She is about as dark as a Portuguese, with nice features and expression of countenance.

Things look rather gloomy with us. A great part of the harvest out, and the wet incessant, and the wheat growing; the cattle dying fearfully of murrain.[1]

Queen Emma, the widow of the King who invited and promoted the founding of the English Church in Hawaii, which had been accomplished almost solely by the Bishop, visited England in order to raise funds for the maintenance of that Church. In furtherance of this object the Bishop went a tour round the great manufacturing districts of the North with the Queen, holding meetings at most of the large towns with varied success. The Bishop's diary records 180*l.* at one place, 200*l.* at another; in all, this northern tour realised some 3,000*l.* The following letters to Sir Charles Anderson describe part of this expedition, at the end of which, it is little to be wondered at, the Queen was so completely exhausted that she could not be present. Later on in the year the Queen was the Bishop's guest at Lavington, from which place she went to Brighton for another meeting.

The following letter with the Bishop's postscript throws a light on his doings during this Yorkshire visit:—

The Rev. J. R. Woodford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Deanery, York, October 13, 1865.

My dear Sir Charles,—The Bishop of Oxford being very busy on the other side of the table, has deputed me to tell you about his recent doings, leaving him to cap the tale with a postscript.

I met him on Monday at Sir L. Pilkington's. On Tuesday

[1] The Bishop wrote for private use a prayer to be used for relief from the cattle plague, which was devastating England. Among the many who wrote to the Bishop thanking him for what he had done was Lord Shaftesbury, who ordered 1,000 copies to be printed and distributed among all the tenants on his estate.

there was a great harvest festival at Royston; from which, on the following day, we proceeded to Leeds to receive Queen Emma; a magnificent meeting in the Town Hall—some 5,000 people assembled. The Mayor gave a luncheon, but, being a Unitarian, escorted the Queen and Bishop to the Hall, and then withdrew. Dr. Atlay presided. The Bishop was almost sole speaker, and most effective. I have never seen a Yorkshire meeting before, and certainly in heartiness and enthusiasm we cannot parallel it in the South-West. After the Leeds meeting, Queen, Bishop, &c., came on here by special train, and are guests of the Dean. Yesterday was the meeting of choirs in the Minster; they mustered about 600 voices, and sang remarkably well—far better than I had heard at similar gatherings. To-day another meeting for the Hawaian Mission; the Dean in the chair; the Bishop again chief speaker, and I think he spoke more magnificently than I have ever heard *even him* speak before. He (the Bishop) is well, I hope, in spite of all work. Yours most truly,

J. R. WOODFORD.

P.S.—My dearest Anderson,—I asked Woodford to write you an outline. He preached a noble sermon at the choral gathering on the blessedness of preparing for the work of the Lord, on David making preparation for the Temple building. All has been most pleasant here, the Dean charming. Plenty of Yorkshire. The Wenlocks, Fox, &c. &c., and Archbishop away on visitation. Many rich Yorkshire talkings at Wakefield, *e.g.* a young middle-class man, whom I had talked to on the platform, rushing out into the rain, when Sir Lionel's carriage was carrying me off, with, 'Eye, but I mūsst shaake hands,' and putting his in at the window! I was very glad to find Willie so esteemed, and apparently useful. I am very sorry that I have not got to you. I go to-day to Duncombe Park till Tuesday; on Tuesday to Scarborough for a Hawaian meeting, and then on to Hackness (the Johnstones') with Queen Emma—there stay Wednesday; Thursday go on, *viâ* York and Stockport, to Lyme (Mr. Legh's); and on Friday to Lord Derby's until Tuesday after, when I go to Lord de Tabley's to meet Queen Emma; and we are

to go Thursday and Friday to Liverpool and Manchester, and I am to preach on Sunday in Manchester Cathedral. I am your very affectionate.

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

September 17, 1865.

My dear dear Fellow,—How I shall long to see you again! May God be pleased to give us a happy meeting. Since I wrote last I have come sixty, which seems very near seventy, and that very near the end. It is quite curious how such things affect us—I seem ten years older! I am just off for Salisbury Cathedral, where I shall be praying for you.

From Knowsley the Bishop writes to his son Ernest on October 21 :—

I have just got by second post your dear note of yesterday. It has *so* cheered: I felt low and miserable. I have had a little bit of a walk to-day, and it was delightful; I walked with Frank Hopwood, who is a capital clergyman, into the Deer Park—a wild place, full of oaks, ferns, and a large piece of water, red deer, &c. &c., and grand distant views. Lord Derby has been very pleasant; very free in talk about politics; and, having lived all his life in the full stream of things, has his mind quite full. You know I always enjoy men of that sort.

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Blenheim, November 2.

I have been a sort of tour in the manufacturing district for the Hawaian Mission, with Queen Emma, whom Basil calls, of course, the Queen of Sheba. We had capital meetings at Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, York, Scarborough. Now I am here with a large party—Duc d'Aumale, Lord Hardwicke, &c. &c. &c.—to celebrate Blandford's coming of age. The Duke is doing it very handsomely, and I want to back him up in everything. He is quite a capital fellow really. Dearest Bas. is to be married on Tuesday, November 28. Dear fellow; how earnestly I pray it may be for his good.

In November the Bishop was elected a Trustee of the British Museum—the practice then was that three names were submitted to the Trustees, out of which number they selected one. On the Bishop being elected, Earl Russell said: 'I cordially concur in the nomination of the Bishop of Oxford as Trustee of the British Museum. No more fit appointment could be made.'

The Bishop of Oxford to R. G. Wilberforce.

Reading, December 17, 1865.

I have no family news to give you in the last fortnight. I have been about the diocese from day to day, preaching seventeen times in the seventeen days of December, besides speeches, confirmations, &c., and am pretty nearly worn out. I have got my Ordination beginning to-morrow—rather a large one, and, from beloved Ernest being there, a very interesting one to me; and then I have one more consecration and confirmation, and a sermon or two at Cuddesdon, and then I hope for ten days of comparative rest at Lavington. . . . I should have liked to have gone up your hill with you after that fall of snow in the higher ridges, and the top view of them. I went to see some beautiful Indian drawings, and pictured you to myself amongst them. I suppose the snow had driven those deer from the higher ground, and so you got the near sight of them.

January 2, 1866.—(Lavington.) Blustering day. Morning, wrote. Planting on Common and Lawsonianas about grounds. Long talk with Currie,[2] who gallantly defending *Archdeacon* Manning. Evening, R. Randall's, &c.: dined. A great many letters.

January 3.—Worked at Life[3] all the morning. Knox came: rode with him to Common. Sir Tatton[4] fell, and then Graffham hillside marking trees. Warden of All Souls came, and very late, and G. Richmond.

[2] The Rev. J. Currie, Vicar of West Lavington.
[3] Revised Edition of *Life of W. Wilberforce.*
[4] A horse so named.

January 4.—Rode with the Warden to Goodwood and Chichester, &c. The old Bishop well, and, as always, most kind. Home, and wrote a good deal. Evening, charade party at Graffham—good.

January 10.—Off early for London: Hawaian meeting, &c. Then to Croydon, whence, with F. and Ernest, to Addington—very kindly welcomed.

January 11.—White world, and snow still falling. Cedrus Atlantica broken down. To London late, and no train to Wycombe; so to Oxford. Travelled to Reading with Lady Phillimore; thence with —— to Cuddesdon.

From this date to the 27th the diary records Cuddesdon parties; among the guests were the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Gloucester and Bristol. Some of these intervening days are chronicled, 'Long Ritual discussion;' others, 'Discussed Readerships, &c.;' 'Discussed subjects for Oxford sermons.' From the 27th to the 31st the diary is a bare record of places where the Bishop held Confirmations. That evening the Bishop returned to Cuddesdon.

February 1.—Up early; letters; church; papers sorting; bills with Ernest, and then wrote. Few minutes' ride with Basil. The Corporation and Lord Abingdon, Hammersley, Archdeacon Clerke, Leighton, &c., dined.

February 2.—Early; letters; church; breakfast; with ——, his memory full of disjointed, useless, generally personal, events. At 11.25 my dearest Ernest and F. drove off, leaving my heart how sore and empty! At accounts, letters, &c.; then rode with Basil, who very affectionate.

February 3.—Up early; breakfast after church; then James Ashhurst as to Monday's meeting; letters and papers, and off for London; rode to station; many letters going up. Dined with Queen's Advocate,[5] Bishop of Salisbury, R. Curzon, Edward Denison, Mrs. and W. E. Gladstone—he clear and bright. Talked of cattle-plague—Aberdeenshire method of dealing with it the only practicable one. Parlia-

[5] Sir R. Phillimore.

ment can only enable. Objections; trickery; impossibility of settling between rent, number and value of stock. '*Ecce Homo*' praised loudly for manly eloquence.

February 4.—Up, 8.15; Chapel Royal, 10; Garden[6] preached a fair sermon. Athenæum, and wrote, with little interruption, sermon for Ash Wednesday till 5. Then with Trench to 26 Pall Mall, and I to Chapel Royal. Again to Athenæum to read till 7.30. To Speaker's with Lady Phillimore, E. Denison, Archdeacon, &c.—pleasant evening.

February 5.—Archbishop of Dublin breakfasted and talk; Bishop of Salisbury and Archdeacon Huxtable. Meeting at Lambeth . . . Bishop of Lincoln main producer of proposition for settling law against Ritualists, and carrying it into the higher Courts—at last I proposed adjournment. Consultation afterwards with Bishops of Salisbury and Gloucester. Letters. Dined at E. Hamilton's—much pleasant talk.

The Bishop thus writes to his son Ernest:—

Lambeth, February 5, 1866.

Many thanks for all your dear kindness. The violets almost upset me; the room is so full of their perfume, like that of your affection. I am writing during the Ritualistic discussions of the Bishops—no light yet, nor do I expect very much to come.

February 6.—Morning, Convocation; drew up address to the Queen—adopted unanimously. Then House of Lords for opening. After to Lambeth; spoke at length on ritual. Then House of Lords and Commons. Dined at Lambeth—Archbishops Armagh, Dublin; Bishop of St. Asaph, &c.

February 7.—Convocation breakfast; morning, Convocation; then Lambeth till 5.40, ritual; then wrote till dinner with Bishop of London, Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, Bishop of St. David's. Great party of Convocation at night.

February 8.—Church; Convocation breakfast; Ecclesiastical Commission; S. P. G.; 79 Pall Mall, for the motion of Burrows—spoke on meanness of forsaking the Bishop of Capetown; House of Lords. Letters; dined Westminster

[6] Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

audit dinner. House of Commons with Archbishop of Dublin—walked home with General Peel.

February 9.—Early. Read. office. Convocation breakfast; Convocation at 11. Then Bishops' meeting and Convocation till 7.15. Dined at the Athenæum with Bishop of St. David's, and then wrote with Sir G. Provost till 12—tired out.

February 10.—Very wet morning. Bishop of Grahamstown to talk over Fremantle's and Bishop of London's review against Bishop of Capetown. Grillions, walked there with ——, and talk as to Newport; with Sir W. Heathcote back. Wrote at Athenæum; spoke for Newport Market Refuge, and wrote till 7.30; 48 letters. Then dined at Dudley House—Lord and Lady Lichfield, Anson and Mrs., Chief Justice Cockburn, R. Lowe and Mrs., Lady Molesworth, Lady C. Kerrison; Lady Dudley charming.

February 11.—(Sunday.) Sir R. Phillimore to breakfast, to go with me to St. Albans. Walker, Cleaver and Stanton officiating; Walker celebrant. Stanton preached an earnest, useful, practical sermon on fasting, its duty, uses, difficulties, and temptations—thoroughly evangelical, but rather an *imitation* of Liddon, and, though successful as an imitation, failing by suggesting the original; congregation grave, earnest, devout; large proportion of strangers; but, except the prostration and the incensing, I thought it far better in effect than I expected. Wrote sermon after, and dined at the Phillimores with H. Glynne.

February 12.—Read service at home: breakfast and letters. Colonial Council; letters. Lambeth curates' meeting. House of Lords; letters. Dinner at Athenæum; letters, and very tired home to bed.

February 13.—Up betimes; off for Boyne Hill at 9.30—a beautiful completed work,[7] D. G.; the snow powdering the ground; the day bright and clear. Prepared sermon going down in train, on 'Sursum corda'—the Spire's voice; preached with interest. Luncheon and toasts; back to House of Lords; letters. Dined Sir W. Farquhar's—Gladstones, Col.

[7] Vol. ii. pp. 389, 390.

Kingscote, Lord Elliott, Egertons, Charlie Wood, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Granville.

February 14.—(Ash Wednesday.) Up in good time; saw —— &c.; then to Goulburn's, where Wordsworth preached on fasting; walked to Cavendish Square; saw and prayed with ——; heavy rain; packed up and finished sermon; to Oxford; preached first sermon of series—great congregation; Randall and Woodford to Cuddesdon; I wait for to-morrow.

February 15.—Up early; letters; saw people; meeting of Diocesan Societies, lay section; rode out to Cuddesdon with Archdeacon Randall and Woodford, wrote; the Ordination and addresses.

February 16.—Morning, Ordination address; letters; rode with Basil; letters. Cattle plague spreading all round. Address in the evening on Red Heifer.

February 17.—Up early; prepared addresses, &c.; set papers; saw each separately; sent poor —— away; packing and leave-taking; rode to Didcot; rail to Reading with Archdeacon; Confirmation at St. Mary's; address in St. Giles' Hall to communicants; to Mrs. Levett's; supper and bed.

February 18.—(Sunday.) Up early. Prepared sermon on 'Draw near to God'—preached it at St. Giles'. Returned to Mrs. Levett's, and prepared evening sermon on 'A Syrian ready to perish,' &c.; grace and Gospel; vast congregation. Back to Mrs. Levett's with Archdeacons Randall and Bickersteth.

The Bishop thus writes to his son Reginald:—

Reading, February 18, 1866.

I am here at our annual Lenten Mission, full of very hard work. . . . The cattle plague is terrible; Gale[8] had 24 down with it on Friday, and I expect daily to hear that we have it. In Cheshire it has quite destroyed the horned cattle, and I hear of 41 farmers being in the Lunatic Asylum from despair at their losses. There is not yet the least amendment. Last Sunday we had a terrific hurricane. The Duke of Richmond writes me word that his cedars were torn up by the roots; at

[8] A farmer at Cuddesdon.

Lavington an old oak ditto, besides innumerable breakings, and my observatory broken off forty feet from the ground.

February 19.—Up early. Communion at St. Giles'. Breakfast at Fosbery's. St. Mary's Church, Milman preached excellently on doubt and unbelief. Then to —— for a Confirmation, and thence to Upton. Evening at Reading, to St. Giles' where Bishop of Ripon preached a good sermon of the school.

February 20.—Early Communion—Claughton[9] preached a beautiful sermon on our Lord's passion. Then he, Archdeacon, and I, to —— for Confirmation; to Wokingham. I preached on 'That I may know Him,' &c. Very much tired at night.

February 21.—Celebrated, and addressed at early Communion, St. Mary's: 'I delivered unto you what I received.' Conference, and to London. Meeting of Wellington College Governors. Lambeth to luncheon. Marriage Law Committee. University Assurance. To Reading. Address at Factory.

February 22.—Early Communion, St. Mary's. Goulburn addressed. Dean of Chichester preached excellently well. To Earley and Sonning for Confirmations, with Cust and Archdeacon Ffoulkes. Addressed Palmer's men at Reading. Proctor, at evening service, preached; very singular. A baddish cold.

February 23.—Did not venture to early Communion. Confirmed at St. Giles'. Then to Twyford with Fosbery, and after to Wargrave; exceedingly tired at night, and cold so bad, I scarcely got through the Confirmation at Wargrave.

February 24.—In bed all the morning. Dr. Wells came to see me. Saw many people, and wrote many letters. Charged candidates. Very much tired at night. But, D. G., certainly much better than last night.

February 25.—(Sunday.) Morning read and thought about sermon. The Ordination. A grand sermon from Woodford: 'This one thing I do.' Unity and diversity:

[9] Bishop of St. Albans.

this visible throughout God's laws. The shadow cast on matter of the Trinity in Unity. In astronomy, &c. Back and prepared sermon; preached at St. Giles'. Very hot. The young men with me afterwards at supper.

February 26.—Up betimes. Cold better. To Town Hall conference. Then off to Binfield; nice Confirmation; then on to Sunningdale.

February 27.—Cold sleety morning. To Bracknell, Confirmation. Then Cranbourne, luncheon. Victor Johnson's and on to Trinity, Windsor, Confirmation. Then to Clewer; confirmed a sister, talk with Carter about vestments. He to try and moderate one side, I the other. To London. Dined THE Club. Duke of Argyll, Lord Stanhope, Lord Kingsdown, R. Lowe, Reeves, Sir W. Maxwell, Sir E. Head, Walpole, Dean of St. Paul's.

February 28.—Letters. People. Committee of Ecclesiastical Commission on Grants. Literary Society. University Assurance. Central African. Hawaian. To Gladstone's tea. Then home and wrote. Dined Sir E. Buller's, Lord Chancellor, Lady Cranworth, Dutch Minister, Earl of Lichfield and Lady, Sir George and Lady Grey.

On March 1 the Bishop went back to the Diocese for Confirmations, beginning at Bray.

March 2.—After breakfast, to ——. Morning Prayer. Humiliation Day. Spoke on it in my Confirmation address. Many moved; God grant to some purpose. ——read wretchedly; feebleness and affectedness. Confirmation, cold and few. I fear his ministry is ineffectual. On to Boyne Hill. Church crowded, and all felt earnest. Then to Bisham, where the like. To the Abbey, not a large party.

March 3.—Off after breakfast, having seen old Hoare in my bed room. A very cold morning. Thermometer 16. Drove to Theale; rather a cold Confirmation. But Harrison taking Tilehurst, doing excellently, and his people well prepared. Then to Englefield, a nice Confirmation, Yonge having exerted himself a good deal. On to Englefield House, all most pleasant.

To his son Ernest the Bishop writes :—

March 10, 1866.

This is my night of mourning. It seems to me as last night. I can almost hear the deep breaths to which I listened all through this night, as I sat alone in the bed holding her up in my arms, and thought that death, as it came on, was sleep. God bless you.

London, March 15, 1866.

We have no family news. All as per last. *March 17* (the day of your blessed mother's funeral in 1841).—I am now at Milton Hill, hard at work at Confirmations. I am writing a line to you before breakfast. Fosbery writing at another table, on my dictation, business letters of the Diocese.

March 24, 1866.

I forget whether I told you of the Queen, God bless her, having chosen to-day to receive the address of Convocation. She wished to have only a small attendance, and she had her wish. The Archbishop, myself, and Ely, and some eight of the Lower House formed the whole body.

April 23, 1866.

I rode into St. Albans, and saw the grand old Abbey. Just near the tomb of John of Wheathampstead, whom should I suddenly meet but Manning! At first he seemed not to know me; but I went and shook hands, and he returned it cordially. He did not look nearly so aged as his photographs make him look.

The following are extracts from letters to Mr. Gordon, and refer to the Reform Bill which was introduced on March 12 in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the Ministry in the House, a position to which he had succeeded on the death of Lord Palmerston. The Government were beaten on the question that the 7*l.* borough franchise be based on rating instead of rental; but instead of dissolving Parliament as the Bishop expected, resigned office :—

March 12.

Gladstone has risen entirely to his position, and done all his most sanguine friends hoped for as leader. 'Lord John' still alienates every one who can be alienated. There is a general feeling of the insecurity of the ministry, and the Reform Bill to be launched to-night is thought a bad rock.

June 6, 1866.

At home, Gladstone is, I believe, determined, if possible, to force through the Reform Bill. Many of his colleagues would defer it. I expect they will take a great division on the 7*l.* franchise, and, if they are beaten, dissolve. If they carry it, let the Bill wait till the spring, starting from that point.

The next letters are to his son Reginald.

July 2, 1866.

As I shall be out of town to-morrow—going to marry Miss Grant at Rochester, and speak for S.P.G. at Ramsgate—I write to you to-day. . . . We are in the excitement of a change of ministers. Lord Derby is coming in with a pure Conservative Government; I suppose, certainly till next Easter. I wish the moribund Bishops would arrange their affairs before the Whigs are in again. It would be a grand thing if we could get a few really good men in whilst there is this chance—for no one knows when it may come again. . . . I am thinking so very much of you, and praying so very often for you, that we scarcely seem to be separated.

Prescot, October 2, 1866.

I have had very nice services, both Saturday, Sunday, and yesterday. *Large* attendance, both of Clergy and Laity, and most hearty services in every respect. This is very cheering, when, as I may say to you, my dearest son, I am often and often DEEPLY cast down, when I seem the most lighthearted.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Ashridge, November 28.

I was very glad to hear from you, and felt as if I was hearing Wordsworth preach; it must have been a capital sermon. The Archbishop told me yesterday that he heard

from Burder and Dunning that three persons had refused Lichfield; I only know of the Bishop of New Zealand.[1] I think it a very fine thing in him doing it, but I am sorry he did it, as I think he would have been *exceedingly* useful. His anti-Erastian influence would have been quite invaluable. I had a very pleasant evening at Ernest's on Monday, and a nice ride on Tuesday with him and F——, half way to Oxford. I came on here last night for the re-opening of Edleborough Church. Lord Brownlow came up from Belton yesterday to be with us, and made two nice cordial speeches at the luncheon afterwards. This is very promising, and he seems to me to be a very nice young fellow. We have begun again on the Ritual Commission, and there is a great wish to condemn lights, incense, &c. I *hate* them as novelties, but I see so plainly that the party who hate all real Church progress are the people who object to them, that it makes me very doubtful how far we can go in repression without repressing that development of real Church life in which is our hope. What a plague it is that people cannot have common sense as well as earnestness.

This letter from the Bishop's copying book, is given as a typical letter to one of those clergymen of the Low Church school still extant in the diocese, who allowed his peculiar views to stand in the way of joining with the other clergy in giving what assistance was in their power to those diocesan institutions which the Bishop had founded :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

December 8, 1866.

I am glad of the opportunity which your openness of speech gives me of speaking with like openness on the whole subject of your letter.

I am by no means disposed to dictate to the clergy of my diocese. During 21 years I have left them on all open

[1] He afterwards accepted.

questions the fullest liberty, and put the kindest construction on their use of their private judgment when it led them to what I thought mistaken action. You have been no exception to this treatment. But when your Bishop and $\frac{19}{20}$ths of your clerical brethren ask you to aid the work of God in your own diocese by collecting for objects on which there cannot be two opinions, and you refuse, I think the refusal 'unkind'—I think it a distinct acting of an uncharitable temper—as St. Paul defines charity—and, so thinking it, I believe it to be my duty to say so openly. I judge no individual—narrowness of mind may blind one, invincible ignorance another, and so on. I judge no man, but I pronounce the act uncharitable.

But you say further, that you 'look in vain for any approval or sympathy from your Diocesan,' &c.

Now, this is a grave charge, and, I can assure you, an utterly unfounded one—I have marked your labours, and sympathised with you in them—I have never let slip any opportunity which your peculiar views of the duty of a Church of England clergyman permitted me of testifying. But I must ask you in common candour to reflect on what your conduct has been. You have in every possible instance, when not compelled by legal necessity to do otherwise, stood aloof from me and marked your repugnance to acting with me. You have never asked me to officiate in your church, and when on two occasions I have endeavoured to arouse the town of Reading to a more earnest spiritual life, you have refused all co-operation, though you knew that the choice of every preacher in your church would be regulated by yourself. What must be the results of such a line of conduct but to render demonstration of sympathy impossible? I have many clergy in the Diocese quite as openly joined to your religious party as you are; but with them the case is quite different. They know and feel and often speak of my hearty sympathy—they know that my sympathy is neither created nor destroyed by agreement or disagreement in non-essentials—that I can work as freely and as heartily with them as with anyone. In common honesty and plainness of speech, I tell you the fault is with you. If you will sever yourself from your brethren and your Bishop—coldly assert a separate line—coldly dissent from every proposal of

united action—querulously protest on every possible occasion, it must be impossible for your Bishop to show the sympathy he longs to manifest. You have wholly wronged him in this judgment. If *you* will alter, you shall have no ground to complain of me. I am, my dear Mr. ——, very truly yours,

CHAPTER VII.

(1865–1867.)

LETTERS TO THE REV. SIR G. PREVOST—ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—PROPOSED CIRCULAR ADDRESS—MEETING OF BISHOPS—MR. GLADSTONE ON RITUAL LEGISLATION—LETTERS TO MR. FREMANTLE AND MR. BUTLER—SPEECH IN CONVOCATION—CHARGE OF 1866—LEGISLATION UNADVISABLE—THE PROPER MODE—ADVANTAGES OF AN INCREASED RITUAL—READING ADDRESSES—ANSWER TO MEMORIAL—RESOLUTION IN CONVOCATION—PROPOSED LEGISLATION—LORD SHAFTESBURY—THE ARCHBISHOP—LEGISLATION AVERTED BY THE BISHOP AND MR. GLADSTONE—ROYAL COMMISSION—LORD SHAFTESBURY'S BILL, SPEECH ON—LORD SHAFTESBURY OBJECTS TO THE BISHOP ON COMMISSION—THE BISHOP'S CHALLENGE—FIRST REPORT OF THE RITUAL COMMISSION—LETTER TO HIS SON.

THIS chapter clearly shows the Bishop's attitude towards those High Churchmen who are now described by the name of 'Ritualists,' up to the appointment of the Ritual Commission. It is a significant fact that no practices which could be described as excessive had been introduced into the Diocese of Oxford. The Bishop accounts for this in his Charge of 1866; he says: 'It is carefully to be noted that where the' (Church) 'movement has been the deepest, there ritualistic extravagances have the least appeared. No diocese, perhaps, from various causes, has risen more than that of Oxford with the general rise of Church devotion; none has been more free from these peculiar excesses.' This first letter gives the Bishop's view of the situation :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. Sir George Prevost.

Hackness Hall, Scarborough, October 18, 1865.

I really *know* nothing in the way of information. I *think* that there is little doubt that the Bishop of London will try

to get some legislative action in the way of altering the rubric about ritual. He would try first to get the Government to undertake it, if not the Bishops. The arguments about it are what will at once occur to you. It would be, in fact, a total readjustment of our system, and involve us in unspeakable difficulties. There could not be a simple wiping out of the present rubric, for that would leave *no law*. Therefore there must be a definition of everything lawful and unlawful—post of minister before Communion table, &c. Now, what endless discussion *must* be caused by such an attempt, and what a miserable result! For even if all moderate men on both sides agreed and settled matters, it would infallibly lead to a great secession. Many who never mean, because they are too wise and loving to run any risk of irritating those of their flock who would be scandalised by increased ritual, to *use* the present liberty, would be deeply injured by its being taken away from them, and there being this legal severance for ever of our ritual from Western Christendom's use.

Then for this—it would be absolutely impossible to open and to limit such questions; once let it be allowed to be a matter for Parliament now to settle what should be our rubrics and our ritual, and it would be wholly impossible to avoid bringing the whole Prayer Book question before Parliament. I think, therefore, that the applying to Parliament, as I believe the Bishop of London wishes to do, would be most dangerous. I think the way to resist would be *at present—first*, by the clergy understanding one another; second, by addressing the Archbishop and the Bishop of the diocese, earnestly deprecating, for the sake of the peace of the Church, any such attempt.

During the past session the Marquis of Westmeath had called the attention of the House of Lords to certain alleged innovations in the Anglican service, and this, coupled with the undeniable fact that obsolete usages were being adopted in many places, suggested to the Archbishop the advisability of issuing an address, signed by all the Bishops. He therefore wrote to the Bishop, asking his counsel. The Bishop replied:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Coley Park, Reading, December 16, 1865.

My own mind is distinctly against an episcopal address on the Ritual question; and, as you desire me, I state it openly, and will simply add my reasons for your consideration.

1. I doubt the constitutional correctness of these addresses. Each Bishop has, of course, a right to address his diocese, and your Grace to address your province; but I do not think it according to the constitution of the Church that the Bishops, out of Synod, should thus assume any aggregate authority.

2. I am sure that the clergy are exceeding jealous of such addresses; and I believe that the laity would be even more so, if the address went against, instead of with, the popular opinion of the day.

3. I do not think the effect of the address would be good, even if we could agree on it; for to get any agreement we must be most general in our terms. We could not, I am sure, agree in detailed advice as to what part of the restored ritual we wished to discountenance. The Bishop of Carlisle would wish to discountenance all which advanced a step beyond Puritan Dissent. But if we are thus general, I fear we shall do no good, and may do harm. The few really extreme men will not attend to us. They will say, You have no right either to assume to fix what is lawful, or to advise us not to do what the law allows our doing. But, while we shall not move them, we may, I think, greatly trouble the ministry of many others, who have really no aim in the measure of ritual they have restored, save increasing the reverence of their congregations in God's worship, but who will be immediately assailed by the Puritan faction and urged to drop all those things, to which their best people are now attaching a high value, and then be represented as going against the episcopal address. I greatly fear this would be the case in my own diocese. We have, I thank God, none of those extremes—my influence has been quite enough to

prevent them. But, to go no farther than the parish in which I am writing, Cust has restored the service at St. Mary's to a beautiful propriety; the little surpliced choristers are a pattern: but Mr. —— and such like, might hold an indignation meeting against him for going against the Bishops, if he did not unsurplice his choir and degrade his service to their Dissenting level. And this brings me to another most serious objection. There is, I believe, in the English mind a great move towards a higher ritual. No one can fail to see its effect everywhere; even the Dissenters and the Scotch Puritan Establishment are affected by it. I rejoice in the ground we have gained. I believe we should be better off if our people desired yet farther progress. The evil to me seems to be in the priest outrunning, and so scandalising, the people. Where the people go with the priest, ground, I think, is gained, which as a Church we lost when, in order to get rid of Popery, we had for a time to sacrifice much that was Catholic.

Now, the ground which has been gained was gained by persons who at the time went beyond the common practice, and, by bearing reproach for Christ, have now raised the common practice.

Now, the tendency of such an address would be: 1. To stop everything where it is, which I am not prepared to do. 2. To force back much; to make, *e.g.*, St. James's, Piccadilly, with its dry, depressing, mechanical ritual, the highest rule allowed. I feel convinced that such an attempt would drive many over to Rome and would leave a dull, depressed, uninteresting service the rule where we did get obedience. To conquer the masses, we must have men of spirit, and with men of spirit we must have some eccentricities. I saw some wonderful illustrations of all this lately in the diocese of Manchester, which I would gladly detail *vivâ voce* to your Grace.[1]

[1] The Bishop's diary of October 28 supplies some of the Manchester experiences. On that day he met Mr. Edward James, Member for Manchester, at dinner, at the Mayor's; he told the Bishop how astonished he was, when he was canvassing Manchester, at the Church feeling. He said: 'The common people cared far more for the Church than for Reform. Lay defence organising against the oppression of the Bishop of Manchester. Strong increase of love for ritual.'

But though this is my decided opinion, I would loyally support your Grace to the utmost limit of what I think lawful, if at last you resolve on any course—only, may I suggest further that if this matter is to be discussed by us it should be under the following conditions:—

1. There should be no circular notice of such discussion. This would assuredly get abroad, and of itself do much of the evil I have ventured above to suggest.

2. There should be an absolute agreement:

(*a.*) That *no* address should finally be adopted unless it was adopted unanimously.

(*b.*) That it should state what we did, and what we did *not*, wish to discourage.

(*c.*) That there should be pledge of absolute silence out of the room as to the whole subject, that neither the 'Record' nor the 'Church Times' might be able to blazon the matter abroad and stir up strife.

I hope I have not wearied your Grace; but, as you asked my opinion, I felt bound in duty to put, as far as possible, my whole views before you.

The Archbishop was not convinced by this letter, and in reply explained that what he meant was that the letter should be one of counsel, not of authority. He granted that unless such a letter was unanimously adopted, or very nearly so, it would be useless; but he anticipated no difficulty in getting a unanimous consent to the discarding of vestments and incense, and adhering to the surplice. The Archbishop also seemed to think from the letter that the Bishop looked forward to a general restoration of vestments and incense, which the Bishop's answer most emphatically contradicts:—

December 24, 1865.

I thank you cordially for your kind consideration of my

The Mayor of Liverpool, a Low Church member of McNeile's congregation, told me that his (McNeile's) influence was passing away; 'he should advise him to retire from Liverpool.' So, says ——, Mayor of Manchester, 'Stowell's influence almost gone before his death.'

objections. I need scarcely say that I will give my most careful attention to your answers. I will now only correct what seems to me a misapprehension of my meaning in my letter, into which some inadvertence of mine has, I fear, led your Grace. I did not mean to imply that I approved of the use of the vestments and incense; so far from it, I have prevented it in my diocese. What I did mean was that I thought our individual action, and not our collective, was our safe course. I venture, too, to think that there is a wide difference between addressing a brother Bishop and addressing the clergy. *Such advice* must, I fear, wear the aspect of an attempt to exercise unlawful authority.

The matter had been discussed by the Bishops in their private meeting in the previous May, when the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester proposed that a test case should be tried, as they thought the Court would be strict in a case of this description, though it was loose on doctrine. The Bishop advised that no legislation should be sought for (which had been proposed), no prosecution entered upon, as such a course might provoke retaliation; but he recommended, as he did in the above letters to the Archbishop, fatherly counsel. The Bishop of Ripon, who spoke, agreed that it was not advisable in any way to restrict the liberty of the Church of England, but advised the getting up a case in order that a competent legal authority might declare what that liberty was. This drew an exceedingly pertinent remark from the Bishop of St. David's: 'May I ask what hinders your getting an opinion?'

Another meeting of the Bishops was held on February 5, 1866, at Lambeth, from the tone of which it may be gathered that it would, as the Bishop feared, have been impossible to obtain a unanimous expression of opinion from the Bishops as to the just limits of the Ritual movement. The proceedings also indi-

cate that, had wise and liberal counsels prevailed among the episcopate at that time, this movement would have been restrained and guided. One of the first speakers was the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who said that Mr. Upton Richards[2] told him that there was a most general readiness to yield to the pastoral office of the Bishops. He afterwards explained, in answer to certain questions, that there had been no time to inquire whether Mr. Richards represented the Ritualist party, but he thought all the sound persons of the party would acquiesce. On this the Bishop of Ely said he thought the resolutions—(1) What is legal; and (2) What is permissible—and the memorials which were before them should be taken together: he desired to meet any overtures of peace from an extreme party. The Bishop of Durham said that he considered this proposal quite inadmissible. Nothing, he thought, could be more injurious to the Bishops than such an arrangement. He then alluded to the proposal that a test case should be tried, and said: 'Suppose the opinion was favourable, we are then bound to carry out the new law and stir up.' He was of opinion 'that there should be no compromise with men who are disturbing wilfully and wickedly the peace of the Church.' The Bishop of Lincoln strongly pressed getting a legal opinion and then going to the Courts. The Bishop of London thought the best course would be if the Ritualists would submit to fatherly counsel. The difficulty of the case was, he thought, increased because doctrine was involved; he said: 'You must, in the Church of England, allow a large latitude of doctrine.' He differed from the view of drawing a case for opinion, on the ground that it would be impossible to make a case wide enough.

[2] Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street.

'The proper mode of dealing with the case is, getting the Bishop the general controlling power intended by the rubric for him to possess. It was always intended that the Ordinary should have it. The old custom was that the Archbishop and Bishops used to order, and the clergy to obey. It was said that Parliament won't give the power. If Parliament were asked to do it, to defend the laity from changes, it would, I believe, enable us to do what it is intended we should be able to do.'

The Bishop of London further said that the way to meet the objection that if this were done one Bishop would settle one way and one another was that there should be provision made that the Bishop should consult certain other persons, with laity learned in the law. The Archbishop should himself be bound to act with his Vicar-General. This would be not *ex post facto*, because it would be carrying into effect the Prayer Book rubric. The Bishop of Winchester did not agree with the Bishop of London; he thought a case could be drawn which would be wide enough, that then the Ritualists should be prosecuted, and the expenses defrayed by all the Bishops.

Enough has been quoted to show how great a difference of opinion there was amongst the Bishops as to what should be done. The discussion was continued on February 7 and 9; nothing of very great importance being recorded, with the exception of a characteristic remark from the aged Bishop of Exeter: 'If you try to enforce the rubric you will have a rebellion; try to alter it, and you will cause a shipwreck.' On the 9th the Bishops divided on the question as to whether the address should be promulgated, when 13 voted for it and 8 against it, the minority consisting of the Archbishop of Dublin, Bishops of St. David's, Oxford, Salisbury, Lincoln, Gloucester and Bristol, Bangor, and Killaloe. Immediately after, it was

proposed and carried that, the Bishops not being unanimous, the address should not be issued.

Before the above discussion took place, the Bishop had taken counsel with Mr. Gladstone on the whole question, and on the Archbishop's proposal. Some passages of Mr. Gladstone's answer are quoted, and it may be remarked that the Bishop wrote to Mr. Gladstone, thanking him for writing so exhaustively on the subject, and said: 'I agree entirely with every word of your letter.' Mr. Gladstone said 'that there should be no restraining or narrowing legislation, unless it was to avert some proximate, weighty, and far-spreading evil.' He said :—

If there is to be legislation, it should not be to forbid anything now lawful, nor to increase episcopal power, nor to force those who now break the law by defect into a stricter obedience, but to defend the right of the congregation not to have the *status quo*, their own custom, and the only one known to them by tradition, broken in upon by the mere will of the clergyman, even though his aim be merely to restore what the law undoubtedly requires, if in the particular place it has fallen into disuse, except in cases of positive scandal and indecency.

In summing up, Mr. Gladstone thus states his opinion :—

I am against attempts, in present circumstances, to define ritual too much by quantity ; it is quality, proportion, relation, which seems to me to have the true claim to regard. I do not think you can define the maximum of true legitimate demand ; which, under much of the existing demand, in appearance moderate, may notwithstanding be quite illegitimate.

In February the Bishop received memorials from two of his Rural Deans on the subject of Ritual; and as the Rural Deans who forwarded them may be looked upon as representative men of the two parties in the

Church—one being Mr. Fremantle, now Dean of Ripon, the other Mr. Butler, now Canon of Worcester—the Bishop's reply to each is given :—

The Rev. W. R. Fremantle.

Feb. 10, 1866.

My dear Fremantle,—I have waited to reply to you till I could speak after some days' consultation with my brethren of the Episcopal College. I greatly regret both the kind and the degree (in many respects) of the Ritualism of which I understand you to complain. From what I hear of the services in one or two dioceses (for I thank God we have no such cases, to the best of my knowledge, in our own) I should not hesitate to say that they seem to me to be distinctly contrary to law, alien to the religious character and temper of our own Church, and, however unintentionally, strongly flavoured with peculiarities which would seem to ally them closely with the Church of Rome. I deplore that such practices have been introduced into any of our churches, and I trust that they may very soon be discontinued. But, I must add, the subject is full of difficulty. It would be unjust to attempt to enforce, by strict law, the

The Rev. W. Butler.

Feb. 10, 1866.

My dear Butler,—Will you convey to those who have signed the address you sent me my thanks to them for it? It always gives me great pleasure to hear from the clergy of my diocese their judgment upon the questions which are occupying the attention of the Church. At the present moment, when there is so much excitement as to what is called the Ritualistic development, I am very glad to be supported by these opinions that the Church's rule ought not to be altered. There seems to me a good deal of needless alarm on the matter. There has been, in time past, much neglect; our externals in worship were let down far too low; our flocks, I believe, were not gathered and helped as they might have been by externals, and the Church's rule was neglected on the side of defect. I have heard of clergy who shrunk on all possible occasions even from the simple surplice. The reaction has come, and mainly

lowering of too florid a ritual, which the congregation desired, whilst the law is not equally enforced where it is too low. There is, and there must be, a large latitude allowed in such matters. The attempt to force an absolute and uniform obedience would only be the signal for rebellion. No one doubted that when the late Bishop of London attempted to enforce the preaching on Sunday morning in a surplice, he was only enforcing the direct letter of the law, yet Islington rose in what proved to be a successful rebellion. Unless, then, we mean to enforce what the cry of the times requires, and to leave all that is against that passing inclination free, and so perpetrate an injustice, we must acquiesce in a large liberty on both sides. Moreover, the present general rise in the conduct of our services would never have been accomplished unless changes had been permitted which, at the first, found many opponents. I, for one, *believe* that we ought to do nothing which can arrest this happy progress. It is, therefore, to loving episcopal remonstrance, to the brotherly influence of other clergy, and where the neglect had been greatest. In many of these cases no man reasonably doubts that the new system has been introduced for the purpose of winning souls to Christ. From what I hear as going on in the different dioceses, I suppose that practices have been introduced which appear to me objectionable both in number and kind; some even, as the incensing in the *Magnificat*, very objectionable. In our own diocese we have, I thank God, none of it; and I cannot doubt that where it is in excess the kindly, fair, and patient use of existing authority will suffice to reduce it to its proper limits. The rule for our conduct is not, I think, difficult:—

1. There must, for Christ's sake, be no transgressing the distinct law of the Church—that is simple rebellion against Him.

2. Where that which seems the letter of the law varies from the all but universal custom, there should be no individual revivals of the obsolete without the sanction or permission of living authority.

3. Where a long tradition has linked the religious feel-

to the general good sense of our laity, that I look, under God's blessing, to temper and guide this spirit. Our rules seem to me simple :—

1. There must be on all sides an entire obedience for Christ's sake to the law of the Church.

2. When the letter of the law seems to an individual to be against long-established and almost universal custom, there should be no revival of the obsolete without the allowance of living authority.

3. Where long tradition has linked the religious sympathies of a parish to a lower, but lawful use, there should be no arbitrary alteration for the pastor's pleasure to the wounding of his flock. I am ever, my dear Fremantle, most truly yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

ings of a parish to a lower, if it be but a lawful, use, there should be no arbitrary alteration for the pastor's pleasure to the wounding of the flock. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

In these letters, as will be observed, the Bishop sounded no uncertain note. He held the same view with regard to Ritualistic extravagances now that the movement was developed as he did when it was in its infancy. In 1859 he wrote to his Archdeacons, expressing his 'utter disapproval of all attempts to introduce unusual ritualistic developments.' To improve the service by an increase of lawful ritual was what 'The Record' and its supporters could not endure, and they classed all who would not walk in their own narrow groove either as 'Ritualists,' or 'inclined to Ritualism.' The Bishop's

toleration was to them unendurable. These two letters also show, what the Bishop amplified in his Charge delivered at the end of the year, that while he was ready, in obedience to the moving current of the time, to approve of an increase of ritual, yet he guarded against any violent innovation in the accustomed service of the Church in whichever direction it tended, by making the sanction or permission of the Bishop, as guardian for the flock under him, necessary in each case.

What the Bishop's own views were have been often stated, but it may be as well to repeat them. Speaking on the question of Ritualism in Convocation on February 9, the Bishop says :—

> There may be differences of opinion as to the extent to which ritualistic observances should prevail in public worship. The conformation of men's minds differs. The conformation of my mind leads me to be satisfied with the simplest form as being the most productive of devotion ; but it is not so with others, and I have no right to make what suits me the law for everybody else.

The following letter further shows that in all changes of ritual, however slight, the Bishop thought that the welfare of the people was THE thing to be considered :—

St. Giles's Vicarage, February 19, 1866.

. . . As to the question of preaching in the surplice, I think the matter stands thus :—

Lord Chelmsford and Dr. Deane some years since gave an opinion that, as to rules of the Church which have been suffered to become obsolete or generally unobserved, no clergyman was bound to revive their use unless called on by living authority to do so. This is my own view. I do *not* call on you to preach in the surplice if you in your discretion think it not for the peace of your parish to do so.

In the Charge, an account of which follows, the Bishop thus publicly stated the same view.

With a general uniformity some differences in detail ought, I conceive, to be allowed on this principle. I have for twenty-one years administered this diocese, never even urging upon those who, from habit, disliked it themselves, or feared the misunderstanding of their flocks (and not in such cases urging it now), obedience to such plain requirements as that the Sunday morning sermon, when a part of the Communion office, should be preached in the surplice, and not in the gown.

The Bishop's triennial Charge, delivered in 1866, dealt very extensively with the Ritual question, and his deliberate opinions on the subject can be gathered from this Charge. Some passages of it are therefore given. He describes the Ritual development as being 'like some brilliant fantastic coruscation, which has cast itself forth from the surface of the weltering mass of molten metal, which, unaffected by such exhalations, flows on with its full stream into its appointed mould. Those burning sparks witness of the heat of the mass from which they sprung; they are not, in their peculiar action, of its essence or its end.' The Charge dealt at length with proposed restrictions. On the first of these—legislation—the Bishop said: 'Legislation would be premature, and therefore dangerous. To be safe, it should embody and ratify, but not precede the Church's general conclusions.' If legislation simply repealed the Rubric which was quoted as legalising the restored ornaments, no rule as to ritual would remain. 'Are these,' he says, 'the times propitious for Convocation and Parliament proceeding further, and enacting by canon and statute a new table of rules for all the ornaments and ceremonials of our Church?' On the second of these proposals, legal proceedings, the Bishop agreed with the Report of the Lower House of Convocation, 'that judicial proceed-

ings would tend to promote rather than allay dissensions,' and that to attempt to establish a rule applicable to all places and congregations alike is to establish an uniformity which cannot be obtained except at the price of peace.' The next passage in the Charge must be quoted at length :—

> Legal proceedings, then, as well as legislative measures, may, I trust, be avoided; and yet I fear both will be inevitable unless those who, by rashness—to say the least—of action, have brought themselves and us into these difficulties, will make, under the fatherly counsel of those set over them in the Lord, some sacrifice for peace. My earnest counsel to them is that, in every instance, they lay their whole case before their Bishop, and act absolutely on his direction. He will, no doubt, consider well and lovingly the special circumstances of each Church, the difficulty of suddenly abandoning all to which a congregation has become attached; and, so far as he deems he lawfully can, will seek to meet such difficulties by a just and comprehensive settlement of the questions referred trustfully to him. In urging this course upon faithful Churchmen I speak with the more confidence because it is assuredly the true Church line. Until the passing of the Act of Uniformity there is no question that the Bishop to a large degree fixed the Liturgy of his diocese; those, then, who contend, on the strength of a dormant rubric, for a legal right to innovate on the use of the diocese against the judgment of the Bishop, are, in truth, seeking to supersede the Church's rule by an Act of Parliament. Peace, I believe, is still obtainable if, as I venture to advise, they will place the matter in their Bishop's hands; for that which has most alarmed the great body of the Church is the sense of entire insecurity as to what amount of alteration, and what hidden doctrinal meanings, recent changes seem to threaten.

Who can read these prophetic words of loving counsel, and doubt that, if this advice had been followed, the Church would have been saved those fearful scandals which have been brought about by hasty

legislation and judicial proceedings on the one hand, and on the other, to use the Bishop's own words, by 'the changes which have been mainly introduced, sometimes clearly by the rash, and generally by the young and ardent, against the wishes of the more sober-minded, and the advice of those whom He has appointed overseers of the flock.'[3]

It must not be supposed that the Bishop wished to see what he characterised as a 'frozen uniformity.' He was quite prepared, as the following sentences show, for an increase of ceremonial, provided, '1, that it was not contrary to law; 2, that it does not tend to promote amongst us any false doctrine or corrupt practice; 3, that it be at the least not condemned by living authority; and, 4, that it be the gradual expression in outer things of the advancement of the Church's inward life. The Bishop's reasons were that a 'moderate and sober development of ceremonial belongs necessarily to the Church as a living body.' 'Life,' he says, 'implies, of a necessity, change. Death only secures immutability.'

Again, in any normal condition of the Church, the spiritual necessities of the body necessitate changes. Every varying phase through which it is passing renders some change expedient, perhaps essential to life. The bark-bound tree, the hide-bound animal, must suffer, and too often die. The rigid clasp of an unalterable ritual may fatally repress zeal, generate formality, or nourish superstition. In the

[3] In August 1867 Dr. Littledale wrote to the *Church Times* saying that he considered a reasonable compromise would be—

a. Retention of vestments wherever in use.

b. Permission to use them in all churches hereafter built when its founder and first incumbent are so minded.

c. Permission to employ them at extra services in old churches and chapels when both churchwardens and not less than one-third of the communicants of the congregation shall agree to petition for their use.

d. Permission to employ them at the regular services when not less than three-fourths of the communicants, together with the churchwardens, desire it.

e. Prohibition in other cases.

normal condition, therefore, of the Church ritual must be, and ought to be, elastic and subject to variations. . . . Whilst, then, I consider the actual ritual developments which have been so hastily adopted in their novelty, multiplication, and amount, as rash, unadvisable and dangerous, may it not be that the attempt to introduce them and the amount of welcome they have met with from many, both of the laity and clergy, point to some part of our present system which may admit of perfecting? This is a grave question. Most of the heaviest blows dealt against our Church have been the result of neglecting such intimations. If her rulers had read aright the signs of the times, and tried the wise policy of supplying within the Church that for which so many yearned, instead of retreating upon what always must be the losing game of a chill repression of the desires of a multitude of hearts, the great Methodist division might, I doubt not, have been prevented.

The Bishop then pointed out at length what there was to be gained by an increased ritual. He concluded that portion of the Charge which dealt with this question in the following words:—

It may, I hope, allay the fears of some amongst us who value, as I do, the great inheritance of primitive truth won for us by our martyred Reformers, to see that the sober flow of reviving ritual is not hostile to that truth, and need not tend toward Papal corruptions; that it may tend, if rightly guided, only to restore to us what our fathers had before those corruptions arose; to revive old English, not to ape new Roman, ways; and that, so viewed, it may be a movement of God's Spirit reacting against the too prevalent inclination to remove all mystery from religion, a holy desire to mark more clearly in outward act and sign that the worship of the Church even here, for each one who has faith to read aright its true character, is but the shadow cast on earth of the intercession and the worship of the heavenly temple. Only let it never be forgotten that every increase of outer ceremonial must be accompanied by an equal increase in the simple preaching of the Gospel of Christ and of the hearts'

devotion of the worshippers; for that without this inward breathing of the soul under the inspiration of the blessed Spirit, all external imagery soon passes into the second death of a hypocritical formality.

Of the many letters which the Bishop received, approving of this Charge and warmly thanking him for it was one from the Archbishop of Canterbury, as follows:—

I have read your Charge with very great attention, especially the part of it which refers to Ritualism. The view which you take is, on the whole, quite in accordance with my own. The gravity of the circumstances, and the dangers that surround us, are impressively dwelt on, and the advice you give is excellent.

The Charge was received by the Diocese with an almost universal expression of approval. A very few, however, were found, to join in a Lay Declaration against the Charge. It will be remembered that in 1859 the Bishop received an address signed by 4,000 laymen living at or near Reading. This address prayed the Bishop to arrest by virtue of his office 'the progress of objectionable innovations, to allay the fears entertained and to suppress all such causes for further apprehensions.' The Bishop referred the petitioners to the reply he had already given to the clergy who had addressed him, and, as no more was heard of the petition, it seems fair to assume that their confidence in their Bishop was completely established. This is confirmed by the fact that the present petition, also emanating from Reading, was signed by only 200 laymen,[4] and was immediately met by a counter-

[4] The Rev. A. P. Cust, of St. Mary's, Reading, now Dean of York, wrote as Rural Dean to the Bishop about this petition, and as his letter throws a strong light upon the nature of these petitioners, some extracts are given: 'The principal names are members of the extreme and narrow party in the town; you never had their confidence, and whatever your Charge might have stated, they would have

petition from the same town expressing entire confidence in the Bishop. The following is part of the Bishop's reply to the second address :—

Gentlemen,—I thank you for your letter accompanying an address from the Mayor, ex-Mayor, Town Clerk, thirteen Churchwardens, and others, to the number of 237 of the town of Reading.

It has given me much pleasure to receive this proof of confidence and affection. I thank God that my endeavours to do my duty amongst you, as your Bishop, for one-and-twenty years are so generously and kindly appreciated.

I attached very little weight to that other address to which you refer. I felt convinced that it was not the voice of the Churchmen of Reading. I saw at once, from the signatures to it which meant anything, that it was put forth by those who are unhappily actuated by that narrow and prejudiced spirit which must make them dislike every attempt of mine to maintain the distinctive doctrines and discipline of our reformed Church in that large spirit of toleration which is so essentially hers. . . .

On February 13, 1867, the Bishops sat with closed doors to consider the answer they should make to the Report of the Lower House on the Ritual question. The reply was drawn up and moved by the Bishop of Oxford, seconded by the Bishop of London, and carried unanimously. The concluding words of the resolution are all that need be quoted : 'Our judgment is that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought

considered it, as coming from you, unsatisfactory. With them a few are associated who are alarmed at the reports of the actions of one extreme ; many have simply acted under personal influence. Some have never read "your Lordship's elaborate, but, in their judgment, singularly ambiguous and unsatisfactory Charge." Some of those who reprobate "your Lordship's episcopal career," which they say has had their "close observation," have scarcely arrived at manhood, while some, who describe themselves as communicants, have not received the Communion for years.'

to be made in our churches, until the sanction of the Bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Bishop of Salisbury.

Rail to Cuddesdon, March 6, 1867.

My dearest Brother,—After you left [the Bishops' meeting] I used my utmost endeavours to check this suicidal step. But, alas! not only were York, Durham, Carlisle, Ripon, Peterborough for it, but Ely, and, above all, Canterbury, said they must support it if brought forward!!

I had specially pressed the terrible evil of the English Episcopate supporting Shaftesbury in such a step, the party colour given to the whole by *his* lead, the clear determination to limit doctrinal liberty one-sidedly, &c. &c. To this the answer was made, then if the Archbishop brought in such a Bill? I said I should deprecate any such measure, but if the Archbishop thought it necessary, and introduced it, I should not oppose it. It was thereupon agreed that Shaftesbury should be hounded off by being told that the Archbishop was preparing such a Bill, and a committee was settled to draw it up. They are to meet Friday, the 8th, and press me greatly to come up for it. May God guide his Church through these great and strange difficulties! I am your ever loving,

S. OXON.

The following letter to Mr. Gladstone shows that, during the Bishop's enforced absence from town, different counsels nearly prevailed. How they were averted is shown by the other letters which follow :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Chipping Norton, March 10, 1867.

My dear Gladstone,—I hear to-day from Phillimore that the Archbishop has spoken to you concerning the great crisis into which party spirit and timidity are hurrying us, and so my lips are unsealed so far that I write in confidence to you about it.

'Last Monday it transpired that Lord Shaftesbury had printed and proposed to read at once a first time a Bill, drawn by A. J. Stephens, for making the 50th Canon the absolute and sole rule of the Church of England as to ornaments, dresses, &c., throwing over the rights of congregations, the discretion of Bishops, and the liberty of the Church for all future expansion. It was *exactly the* idea for his cramped, puritanical, persecuting mind. The Archbishop called a meeting of the Bishops next day, at which it at once appeared that the whole phalanx of Archbishops and Bishops from the north, and all the puritan Bishops, were hot for it—only three of us opposed it. Worst of all, our own Archbishop, though he did not like it, 'did not see how he could oppose it.' I set before them at length the ignominy of the course; its shameless party spirit; the suicide of the English episcopate being dragged at the tail of Shaftesbury; and I so far with difficulty succeeded that the Bishops in league with Shaftesbury said that if the Archbishop would undertake to legislate, they would persuade Shaftesbury to wait. On Wednesday I had to preach at Oxford, and have not been able to return since; but I hear that Lord Russell and Walpole(!) have expressed their approval, and that the Archbishop is going on. I have written to him as strongly as I can, pointing out the terrible evils which the course seems to me to imply. I have sent the copy of my letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, or I would inclose it. Now, I trouble you with all this because I know the Archbishop's high value of your opinion, and I believe that if anything can save us from the terrible end to which pusillanimity is driving us, it will be your influence with him. Could you not see him and show him what it will be for the Bishops to come with a gagging Bill before the House of Commons? I am *here* for a week—worked almost to death, as, if you will cast your eye over the inclosed paper, you will see. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The following is the letter to the Archbishop referred to in the last:—

March 7, 1867.

Further reflection only increases my distress at this intended move. Parliament without Convocation being encouraged by us to alter a leading rubric, one which governs all our ornaments and official vesture, will, *of itself*, so wound all our better men that, quite irrespective of what the alteration is, I think it will inevitably cause a disruption. I do not believe in the necessity of any movement; but if any movement is made, surely it should be done regularly. The Queen should be moved to send a letter of business to our Convocations. *We* could, I am confident, carry any wise measure through, and then Parliament might confirm it. I venture to implore your Grace, who has saved us from so much, to save us from this, which, I verily believe, does, humanly speaking, involve an irreparable blow. I have reason to know that we can get the highest help in the House of Commons against Lord Shaftesbury's violence. Oh that your Grace would (letting me, if you prefer not doing it, take the obnoxious part of arguing the case against him) say that, whilst you were ready to take the constitutional course marked out above, and use your full powers to procure a settlement of the question, you must oppose such a precedent as Parliament, without the Queen's Commission and the acting of the clergy in their Convocations, undertaking to deal with a leading rubric of the Book of Common Prayer.

This is a new position not considered by us in our hasty Tuesday's discussion. I pray God your Grace may see your way to occupy it, for I do verily believe that a hasty discussion and a false step here may go far to destroy the Established Church.

I know that you will let me add that a tender loyalty to your person adds to my anxiety. On Saturday, Feb. 2, you replied to a deputation from the English Church Union (see 'Guardian,' Feb. 7, 1867): 'I have already publicly declared my determination never to consent to any alteration in any part of the Book of Common Prayer without the full concurrence of Convocation.' Now, I fear this would be held

to pledge you to a line of conduct which supporting this move would violate.

I fear that I may be unable to come up to-morrow. Preaching last night at Oxford has made my throat so sore that I may be really unable safely to come up, as I promised to hold myself ready to do.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

March 11, 1867.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—On Friday evening I chanced to meet the Archbishop, and learned from him that the Bishops intended to take up a Bill of Shaftesbury's[5] for giving the force of law to the 58th Canon. From me this communication had the worst reception I could possibly give it without departing from my great personal respect and deference to the Archbishop.

On Saturday I wrote to him a letter, of which I inclose the copy—please to return it. This morning I have a note from the Archbishop, desiring to meet me with the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London. I am going to call on them at London House.

Meantime I have written again very strongly to the Archbishop a letter, which there was not time to have copied, for communication to his own brethren.

The only method of dealing satisfactorily with any Church difficulty is by some well-assured and wide concurrence like that in the case of subscription. This appears to be in every particular the exact reverse. It is just like the case of our consulting Bright (and him only) last year—except that we did not do it.

Yesterday I saw, for the first time, the service in a Ritualistic church proper. There was much in it that I did not like, could not defend as good, perhaps could not claim

[5] This is not quite accurate. The Bill which the Archbishop proposed to introduce was a Bill drawn by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and was called 'An Act for removing doubts as to the mode of conducting Public Worship.'

toleration for. But that must be in the last—the very last—resort.

And I think it idle to suppose a Bill such as this can pass the House of Commons without raising many and large questions. I am afraid it would throw me into a very anti-Episcopal position. In any case I must reserve to myself perfect freedom. I agree in the views of it which you express. I have read your Charge with great admiration. I remain, affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S.—After the interview:

1. They were all under the belief that you had agreed to support, or not to oppose, the Bill.

2. It was not Shaftesbury's simple enforcement of the 58th Canon, but embraced all the questions.

3. I left them, I think, in the mind to drop the Bill and propose a Commission.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Chipping Norton, March 12.

My dear Gladstone,—I thank God that you have been enabled so far to stay this counsel of fear which threatened destruction.

I agree entirely with every word you say.

I cannot conceive how they could think I should support the Bill. When we met on Tuesday I could hardly get a hearing as to not—on the spot—giving ourselves up to Lord Shaftesbury. Against this was *my* struggle; when at last they said, 'If the Archbishop brings in a Bill?' I said, that is quite another affair; I cannot conceive my *opposing* what HE, as my metropolitan, considered it his duty, after full reflection, to introduce—and so we parted. But at the next meeting—

(1) The Bishop of Gloucester read my protest to them;

(2) I wrote at length to the Archbishop my reasons for opposing the measure.

(3) I have his answer, expressing his pain at feeling bound to act in opposition to my judgment.

(4) The Bishop of Gloucester wrote that, at the interview the Archbishop and he had with Lord Derby, my opposition to the measure was fully and fairly stated to Lord Derby.

(5) I wrote to Lord Derby to explain the grounds of my dissent. It is hard to convince a person like the Archbishop of York that you do not agree with him; 1, because his self-importance makes him almost unable to apprehend such a possibility; 2, because it leads him so perpetually to repeat his own assertions that it is not easy, without a seeming breach of courtesy, to force in the mention of your own opinions. I think it possible that the idea that I should not *oppose* in the House of Lords our present Archbishop was what lodged in their minds. I am most sincerely yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

Legislation by the Archbishop was thus averted, and on March 26 the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop saying that

Lord Derby informs me, the Cabinet are unanimously of opinion that any proceeding in regard to recent Ritualistic practices had better be taken by a Commission than through immediate legislation. He asks my opinion, and requests me to collect that of the Archbishops and Bishops, whether the inquiry on the part of the Commission should be limited to the rubric prescribing the ornaments of the Church and of the ministers or should extend to other rubrics and other parts of the Book of Common Prayer. My own view is decidedly in favour of the limitation, and I will thank you to let me know your opinion at your earliest convenience.

To this letter the Bishop replied as follows :—

March 27, 1867.

I am clear that the inquiries of the Commission should be limited to the rubric touching the ornaments of the Church and the ministers. I think it—after our experience of the last Commission—very important that the terms of the Commission should intimate that Convocation would be afterwards consulted. I reserve my own opinion that no legislation is best of all.

The inquiries of the Commission were not so strictly limited. On May 7 Lord Derby stated in the House of Lords that the Royal Commission ought to inquire into all the Rubrics which prescribed the mode of celebrating Public Worship—the publication of banns, &c. The Commission was ultimately established on this basis.

Mr. Walpole's[6] letter, inviting the Bishop to serve on the Commission, says:—

> I take it for granted that you will be so good as to serve on the Ritual Commission. Without you, it would be the drama of Hamlet without Hamlet himself. We are going to include in it the consideration of the Lectionary.

The following extract from a letter to Sir Charles Anderson refers to the dangers of this proposed legislation:—

Sarsden, March 10, 1867.

I liked very much your bit about Ritualism in the 'Guardian,'[7] and agree in your estimate. But I have no patience with *our* being driven to legislate, to put ourselves into the utterly false position of asking for more power from the House of Commons, tying up the future expansive power of the Church of England by new Acts of Parliament, destroying the liberty of congregations and the restraining and directing power of the Bishops. My mission work here is, I trust, prospering. The weather very wet; all the ground and streets this morning covered with snow.

Notwithstanding the appointment of the Royal Commission and the withdrawal from intended legislation on the part of the Archbishop, Lord Shaftesbury, on May 14, moved the second reading of his Bill, in a long and temperate speech. The Archbishop of

[6] Secretary of State for Home.

[7] A letter to the *Guardian* about Ritualism, in which Sir Charles described the Ritualists 'as people whose heads,' according to an expressive Yorkshire provincial phrase, 'wanted *insensing*.'

Canterbury moved that it be read a second time this day two months. In the course of the debate the Bishop spoke in favour of the amendment, and in the course of his speech thus pleaded for toleration.

The English people never had borne, and he trusted never would bear, the semblance of persecution. The Church of England was not a Church of compromise, but of comprehension, embracing within her fold men of every view between those who absolutely denied her primary principles and those who held the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, which she had expressly condemned. In that comprehensiveness it was that her strength lay. Let not their Lordships, then, without being aware of what they were doing, by legislation give a triumph to one party in the Church over another. It was no secret, and nothing could be gained by denying the fact, that there were in the Church of England men who went near to Rome and near to Geneva; but the safety of that Church which was the greatest bulwark of truth would, in his opinion, best be consulted by keeping both and expelling neither. That end, he would add, could only be accomplished by great forbearance and by using every method of repressing the evils whose existence he deplored, before having recourse to harsh legislation.

The amendment of the Archbishop was carried by a majority of 15 in a House of 107—twenty peers not voting but pairing. In the majority were two Archbishops, Canterbury and Dublin, and six Bishops; in the minority eleven Bishops. Lord Shaftesbury did not bring the Bill on again, but left it to expire with the session. The diary record for the day is as follows:—

May 14.—Morning, letters. Bishop of Armidale's committee. House of Lords: Shaftesbury's Bill for surplices; spoke, I really think, with good effect. Lord Derby having sent Lord Malmesbury to me to say that the whips reported that he was in a minority, and must give up, I protested—carried by good majority of 15.

On Thursday, June 20, during a debate on the list of Commissioners, Lord Shaftesbury stated that he had declined serving on the Commission because he thought that men who held extreme opinions should not serve, and he further said that he had written to Mr. Walpole saying that, in his opinion, others who had taken up a decided attitude on this question ought not to be on the Commission, and he named the Bishop as one of these.

The Bishop of Oxford observed that the noble Earl had done him the honour to specify his name as that of one whose opinions were too extreme to make him a fit member of the Commission which had been appointed to examine, to report, and, if possible, to adjust the difficult and delicate questions which had arisen as to extreme ritual.

'Now, I challenge the noble Earl, in the face of the House, to produce one single element of proof for the assertion that he has just made, that I am, or ever have been, an extreme man in this matter. My actions and words are before the Church. I have done all in my power to repress these extremes, and I have in my Charge published the reasons why I have endeavoured to repress them: nay, I have done more—I have been successful in repressing them; and, whereas in other dioceses they have broken out, in the diocese of Oxford there has been a remarkable absence of them. It is very easy for the noble Lord to attack me, though he knows I have no extreme views, and though he confesses that he is himself an extreme man. I am not an extreme man. I am one who holds that middle position as to doctrine in the Church that Richard Hooker held, for holding which as long as he lived he was beset by the Puritan faction, and for maintaining which he has since his death been universally esteemed by the Church of England.'

The Ritual Commissioners, twenty-nine in number, began their sittings on June 17. They met nineteen

times, and on August 19 agreed upon their Report.[8] The Report was not issued for some days, the delay being occasioned by the necessity of sending it to the Commissioners for their signature.

Immediately on the appointment of the Commission, some of the members agreed to form a private committee and to move *pari passu* with the meetings of the Commissioners. This committee consisted of Lord Beauchamp, the Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Ely,[9] Canon Gregory, the Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore, the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, the Right Hon. A. J. Beresford Hope, and the Rev. T. W. Perry. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol joined, but after one or two meetings deserted and went over to the other side. This committee, although less than a third of the whole body, was enabled, by showing a united front, to really guide the Commission, and to virtually settle the Report. At the final meeting two draft Reports were submitted for consideration by the Commissioners: one by Mr. Walpole, the other by Mr. Hubbard. Mr. Walpole withdrew his in favour of Mr. Hubbard's, which, with a few alterations, was adopted. This draft Report, as the diary shows, was in reality drawn by the Bishop; and the secret of its success was the moderation of tone and the judicious use of the word 'restrain' with regard to vestments, instead of the word 'abolish' or 'prohibit.' The main body of the Commissioners failed to perceive the elasticity of this word, which in fact did leave a loophole for the regulated use of vestments. Lord Beauchamp, at whose house these meetings were held, thus testifies of the part the Bishop took.

I cannot refrain from writing you these few lines to say how fully I recognise the discretion and skill with which you

[8] Appendix B. [9] Now Bishop of Carlisle.

have steered us. How others could have been brought to agree I cannot divine. Our escape has been marvellous.

That the Report did not satisfy either the promoters or the opponents of extreme Ritualistic practices is not to be wondered at. The tone of the Low Church organs abundantly proves that from their point of view the condemnation was not sufficiently sweeping. The opinions of the other side, as expressed by Dr. Pusey, who may be fairly looked upon as representing the party, were as follows :—

It seems to me a complete extirpation of the vestments, root and branch. I cannot conceive the work done more completely, though it might have been done in a more painful way. It is an absolute and complete defeat. It would have been far better to have had all Shaftesbury's Bill and let him do his worst.

The Bishop's diary throws some light on the discussions of the Ritual Commissioners, and is as follows :—

June 17.—Morning, off for London for first meeting of Ritual Commission. Settled general plan of operations, inquiry, and witness, *contra* Harrowby and London, who were for instant decision.

June 20.—Early church ; letters ; breakfast at Gladstone's —Lothians, Mill, Phillimore, Lady Herbert, Doyle, Lyttelton. Ritual Commission—examined D. Wilson, who manly and straightforward, and partly examined Le Geyt.

Three or four meetings took place between the date of the last and the following entry, evidence being taken at them.

July 15.—With Lord Stanhope to Ritual Commission ; began to consider loosely about Report. No light yet. At 4.20 broke up.

July 25.—Ecclesiastical Commission, and then all day

ritual. Bishop of Gloucester, as always, now hot and intemperate in trying to force on condemnation of chasuble. I said the Church of England was the Church of liberty. The Bishop of Gloucester: 'Let them go to Rome; why not? a very good communion—next best to ours.'

July 29.—To London after breakfast, and with Phillimore to Ritual Commission. Long struggle to get reference to legal part. Bishop of Gloucester again violent: I spoke alone strongly to him afterwards—I think with effect. Then House; Reform. Dined E. Hamilton's, Sir F. Doyle and J. Bright there. A great deal of talk with Bright; he said: 'Dual vote most false; instead of two or three for Birmingham, this would make it only one on a division.' He spoke of the cruelty and injustice of making elder sons.

August 1.—Early to town. Breakfast, Beauchamp's. Long discussion; resolution as to 'Liberty.' Ecclesiastical Commission. Ritual Commission; long and weary discussion. House of Lords; Church rates put off. Dined at Skinners' Hall. Back to House; voted against Earl Grey's resolution. Late to bed.

August 5.—Off at 7.10; prosperous journey.[1] Commission; all day strong against a vote of no allowance of vestments in parish churches—beat, 13 to 9. Bishop of Gloucester, as usual, all the heat of a deserter against me.[2] Very much down. May God avert the evil I dread!

August 12. Morning, wrote. After breakfast, to London. Ritual Commission; question, whether Bishop complained to should be forced to inhibit, fact being proved? Divided—aye.

August 15.—Breakfast, 8. Off to London. Commission; agreed on resolution of Bishop of London.

The meeting at Lord Beauchamp's had agreed on August 9 to support this resolution.[3]

[1] From the Isle of Wight.

[2] The Bishop's diary of May 6 shows that he, the Bishop, was mainly instrumental in getting the Bishop of Gloucester on the Commission. It says: 'Bishop of Gloucester wanting exceedingly to be on Commission, I spoke to the Archbishop, who said he would do all he could for it.'

[3] This resolution was to the effect that all who had committed themselves with regard to vestments should not be disturbed, unless they were complained of.

August 19.—Up early; prayers and office; breakfast, 8. Off at 8.30 with Stanhope, Beauchamp, and Meynell Ingram for town. Ritual Commission; long debate on draft report I had drawn up on Tuesday the 13th, and given Hubbard to circulate—substantially adopted. Kept in town till 5. Grand thunderstorm, first seen in Portsmouth from train.

The following letter was written by the Bishop to his son Ernest, to explain some passages in the Report which he, Ernest, had misunderstood:—

September 14, 1867.

My beloved Ernest,—I do not think you have formed at all a right judgment of the Report of the Ritual Commission, or, of course, I should not have been able to sign it.

1. It concerns only vestments which have *long* been unused in the Church of England. It has no reference therefore whatever to such usages as you speak of; raising the service from the Belgrave level to yours or the like. It simply declares that we think it expedient that the dress of the officiating clergyman should, as a common rule, be the one long used, and which satisfied Andrewes, Cosin, Taylor, Hammond, and the like.

2. Every allusion to doctrine is most carefully shut out, and the 'restraining power' we recommend is not to be employed at the sole will even of the Bishop. It is only where three communicants (at least) complain that they are disturbed by the reintroduction without authority of these unused dresses that the Bishop is to interfere.

3. The strongest witnesses all declared that they did not consider the vestments essential. How could they, when none of the holders of the sacramental view for 300 years have ever used them in our Church, when they certainly are not primitive, nor of such early use as the surplice at the celebration?

4. I cannot agree as to the unfortunateness of the language. I was most anxious, for the sake of the Ritualists, that there should be no making of the vestments in themselves illegal; because—

1. This would, to a certain degree, have altered the standing of the English Church.

2. It would have prevented any use of them where the people do not object.

3. It would have stood in the way of any such gradual return to a higher class as alone, can I think, be useful.

The Commission had not the question of legality submitted to it—nothing but a trial in a Court and a judicial decision would settle that—and it would be a *great risk*; for the decision would probably turn on doctrine, and, constituted as our Courts are, would too probably decide against some of the Church's highest doctrines. There is not in the Report one word which ought to resist the movement you speak of separate from this one troubled question of vestments. I may tell you in confidence that in our fuller resolutions we have not applied this even to coloured stoles. You see that except you had adopted these vestments no one in the parish would be armed against you, and the Church has at all times let her Bishops make, as we propose, temporary rules concerning the particular habits the clergy should wear in public worship. I feel sure if you had been on the Commission you would have shared my thankful surprise at what *we* were able to bring the first proposals down to.

CHAPTER VIII.

(1867.)

DEBATE ON STATUS OF COLONIAL CHURCH—BISHOP'S SPEECH ON—DIARY—CONVERSATION WITH MR. BRIGHT—INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE—LETTER ON SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS—LETTER TO MR. GORDON—VISIT TO BRIGHTSTONE—SPEECH TO SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS—LETTER TO BISHOP MILMAN—THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE—LETTER TO SIR C. ANDERSON—DIARY—CONVERSATIONS WITH LORD CLARENDON—REOPENING OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL—LETTER TO MR. GORDON.

THE diary of February 2 thus records the consecration at Canterbury of the Rev. Robert Milman to the Bishopric of Calcutta :—

February 2.—Up early. Beautiful morning. Cathedral; fine service: dear Milman, he much affected. Back with the Archbishop to London. Dined Farquhar's—Gladstone, &c.; he full of Italy; very interesting talk of interview with the Pope.

February 14.—Convocation breakfast, and then Ecclesiastical Commission; then S.P.G. Leave-taking of dear Milman. I dined at the Albion with Surgeons, and then went to Sir W. Milman's for last sight of Milman.

February 15.—Convocation breakfast; then Convocation; letters. House of Lords: debate on Colonial Church. Dined Sir W. Farquhar's; Granville, &c.—a pleasant party.

The debate referred to on the Colonial Church was raised by the Bishop of London moving for certain despatches and papers. The Bishop of London, in his speech, showed that he thought the Colonial Church, where not established by law, should yet be so far under the supremacy of the Crown as that appeals

in ecclesiastical causes should be heard in the same manner as English appeals. This speech drew from Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a lucid statement of the real position of Colonial Churches. Bishop Wilberforce, who thanked Lord Carnarvon for his clear statement, and for the utterance of sentiments of liberality towards the colonies and of desire for freedom of religion, said :—

It should be remembered that the Church of England in the colonies was a purely voluntary body, like the Wesleyans or any other body of religionists having an internal regulation of its own but having no connection with the Crown except as subjects of the Queen. It was a misapprehension to suppose that the Church in the colonies had the same power of appeal to the Privy Council as the Church at home. The Queen's supremacy was an essential part of an Established Church. But what was the meaning of an Established Church? That it possessed property? No; it meant that instead of being a voluntary and tolerated society it was a legal corporation, with internal powers that were recognised by the Queen's Courts. The Queen could not create the smallest spiritual Court in the colonies. To ask the colonists to look for a remedy in the supremacy of the Crown was to offer them an illusion. . . . The connection between the Colonial Church and the Church at home was not to be maintained by illusory documents or high-sounding claims. It was to be maintained by allowing the Church in the colonies to develop for itself the true Church of England temper, profession of faith, doctrine, and internal government; thus giving it the help they could give it to stand up among free men there, itself there a free Church, among free religionists a free religion. They must not put them off from what would be an abiding reality and teach them to trust to what, when they came to try it, would prove a broken reed.

March 12.—Up early. Meditated address on 'Times of refreshing.' To Conference, but not enough to confer. Wrote. Drove to Spilsbury in driving snow; Confirmation.

Then Westbury; confirm and preach on 'Receive not in vain;' grand congregation. On in snow to Ramsden.

March 14.—Much snow. In with Barter and Miss Barter to Chipping Norton. Early communion; Carter admirable; supernatural, but non-material conveyance of Himself; *His* indwelling; tests—awe, strength, prayer. By rail to Milton. Nice Confirmation. Drove through drifts hardly to Seafield; very nice Confirmation. Then drove to Sarsden.

March 15.—Confirmation at Church Hill. Then in to Chipping Norton; burial-ground consecrated and preached. Then letters. Addressed working men. Then dined at Rawlinson's; Burrows there. Very cold night.

March 16.—Morning, read and wrote. Drove with Barter and Archdeacon to Lockwood Kings. A very nice Confirmation; altogether nicest this year. Very cold. Service and charge. Then dinner at 'White Hart.' Speech from Bishop of Newfoundland, and home.

March 17.—Half-past 10 Ordination service. Bishop of Newfoundland preached a very good sermon, but too long. I ordained my Basil with great comfort. What an answer to prayer! Read, and prepared sermon on Heaven. A large and most attentive congregation.

March 24.—Windsor. Morning, fully prepared sermon. Nervous because unwritten, and so few. Preached with interest. Walked with Dean and Northcote. Dined with Queen, Prince and Princess Christian: he dull, but seeming good. They evidently very fond of each other. I next to Princess Louise, who very pleasant, and so Prince Alfred.

March 27.—Confirmation, and a fairly nice one. ——'s manner odd, ultra-Irish, *i.e.* sort of frankness which does not breed confidence. To Wootton—the least pleasing Confirmation this round; consecrated addition to churchyard. On to Woodstock; Confirmation; a very nice set. To Kirtlington, where my dear Ernest and F. So happy to meet them.

April 11.—London. Off for Wellington College. At Wokingham, where Fosbery. A very nice Confirmation. Wrote a good deal. To Caverston, meeting E. and F., Cust, &c., at

Reading. Rode with E. to Caversham—nice Confirmation. To Coppice, the Phillimores, Richard Cavendish ; all friendly and pleasant.

April 12.—I, Miss Phillimore, and Ernest rode to Greys Kidmore End, by Woodcote and Whitchurch to Maple Durham and home. Three very nice Confirmations ; a delightful ride.

On the next morning, before he left the Coppice to hold another Confirmation, the Bishop called for assistance in disposing of his letters. He settled himself at a large table in the library window, and there dictated four letters, each on a different subject to the four Secretaries he had acquired, writing the while a fifth letter himself. In this way much work was got through, the Bishop keeping every thread perfectly distinct and requiring merely the last word of the sentence to dictate to each the next portion of her letter.

April 19.—Oxford. Service at All Souls. To university sermon, Christ Church. Dean Liddell preached a remarkable sermon on Lord's Supper ; growth from simple form of paschal commemoration ; entire omission of *This is my body.* Scornful throughout in manner, but striking. Full of toleration for ritualists with willing congregations. Then confirmed at St. Philip and St. James. After, rode with Warden of All Souls to Garsington ; confirmed. Then to Cuddesdon with Basil. Baby charming ; beginning to show intelligence. Back to Warden's for night.

May 4.—Grillion's breakfast. Called at Winchester House. With Anderson to photographer. Wrote for two or three hours. The Academy dinner. Speaking poor and long. The Prince of Wales spoke as well as any one—wonderfully improved. He gave me a really good account of the Princess : talked about his little boys, &c. Down with Bishop of London to Fulham, where very kindly received.

May 21.—Church. Academy. Then to French and

British Institutions. That unspeakable depression last night and to-day which sometimes visits me. A longing for satisfied affection, which is not satisfied. O Lord, let it bind me to THEE in whom is all my spirit longs for. House of Lords. Rode with Bishop of Gloucester to South Kensington. Dined at the Admiralty. Lord H. Lennox, Prince of Wales, Duke of Edinburgh, Duc d'Aumale, Disraeli, Spencers, Lady C. Bingham.

May 22.—Church. Breakfasted South Kensington. Bounty Board on Suffragans. Carried all with me except the Bishop of London, who not strong, only wanting help. Snow-storm. Spoke at Additional Curates. University Assurance. Hermit's winning the Derby. Dined Bishop of Ely's, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Gloucester, Lord and Lady Cranworth. News of Lady Chichester's sudden death.

May 25.—Church. After breakfast to Sons of Clergy. Then to the Athenæum to prepare sermon. Convocation Committee on Diocesan Synods at Bishop of Winchester's. Colonial Church Council. Rode with Bishop of Gloucester. Dined at Lord Stanhope's to meet Antiquaries.

May 26.—Morning. Prepared sermon on 'Whatsoever ye ask,' and preached at King's College Chapel. Afternoon prepared for Westminster Abbey: on Jacob's ladder. Vast congregation—1,000 turned away from doors.

May 29.—Church. Seeing many, *inter alios* dear Henry suffering from threat of abscess. God be gracious to him. Meeting of Book Hawking Society. University Assurance: *just* carried R. Cavendish. Halifax, Hardy, and I much talk on constitution of Commission on Ritualism. Dined Gladstone's: Spencers, Lord Cowper, Bright, Glynne, and Adams. Bright talked a great deal. Studies his speeches; prepares his illustrations and quotations. Had prepared both *Cave*[1] and *Dog*. Reads a great deal of Milton—almost daily. Must come under new system to ballot.

Part of this conversation the Bishop used to repeat very much as follows:—

[1] The Cave of Adullam, 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2. 'Where every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them.'

Bright said he always prepared his illustrations. I said, 'Not *always*, surely, because I can give you an instance when it was impossible that you could have prepared. You remember when you likened Bob Lowe to the ladies' white pug dog that was so fat that you could not tell his head from his tail. Well, now, when you used that, you had been suddenly attacked, and it was impossible that you could have prepared it.' Bright replied: 'It is true all the same. I had prepared it for a former speech, but while I was speaking I looked at Lowe and my heart melted and I left it out, but when on the occasion you mention he attacked me, then I had no pity and *I gave him the dog*.'

June 21.—To Bounty Board for school question. Wrote till 2.15. Then rode with R. Denman. Then to House, and after two struggles carried Bill—1st, for keeping clause permitting Ecclesiastical Commissioners on certain terms to aid new Bishops' endowments (this *versus* Shaftesbury); 2nd, against Grey's suffragans. Glad to throw this out, yet so vexed to oppose and beat the Archbishop that I was quite sad.

The Bill here referred to was introduced by Lord Lyttelton for 'Increase of the Episcopate.' It contained two propositions: one for the creation of new sees, the other for the appointment of suffragan Bishops. The Bill passed the House of Lords, and was introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Roundell Palmer. The Commons inserted a clause providing that the Bishops of the new sees were not to have seats in the House of Lords.[2] This clause the House of Lords refused to accept, and the Bill was in consequence lost.

[2] Or, as the Bishop of London observed, making 'four Sodor's and Man instead of one.'

July 4.—Down by 10 train after letters to Oxford, St. Mary's, where Woodford preached excellently on Incarnation. Dull papers from Perowne and Chamberlain. Symptoms of warm debate, which I quieted. After dinner a few letters. Evening discussion good on alienation of lower orders.

July 5.—Up early. Communion at St. Mary's. Papers by Deans of Cork and Ely excellent. Then a good discussion. Walk with Dean of Ely. Evening church and sermon by Payne Smith. Evening discussion good, but I fear I was carried away. God forgive me.

July 6.—Up before 6 and prepared sermon on 'He taught as one having authority.' All well pleased. Then wrote. Saw candidates for orders, &c. Off at 5 for Reading with Archdeacon Randall and Vice-Chancellor. Walked with V.C. to Sonning. A lovely evening and most soothing walk. Then met Hugh Pearson near Sonning. Dinner—Colonel Knyvett, Vice-Chancellor, H. Pearson, and curate. Happy evening.

July 21.—(Lavington). Prepared and preached morning sermon on 'Depart from me.' Then walked with Bishop of Lincoln, &c. Preached afternoon on David in God's strength defeating Goliath. Walked up hill. Read Keble and some Gerontius. Pleasant evening.

July 23.—Reform debate in House of Lords. Lord Cairns' *the* speech. Shaftesbury's Jeremiad expressing much my fears. Carnarvon's speech yesterday too severe. Derby's answer warm.

July 31.—(Middleton Stony). Beautiful morning. To Church. Walked about with Ernest and F——. Ernest drove me over to Heyford only just in time. To town and wrote. University Assurance; and down with Sir F. Pollock. Walked about his grounds with the good old man, 82 years old. Full of love of life and of nature. A happy, thankful existence. Matthew Arnold and wife dined; at 9.30 Sir F. went to bed.

August 3.—(Niton, Isle of Wight). After breakfast off with E——,[1] I driving Mr——'s horse to Brighstone. Most

[1] The Bishop's daughter.

kindly received by Moberlys, over house, church, &c., down to shore. E—— remembering many things, and I able to talk with her on all. The past all around me. All God's doings with me since 1841. Drove home with E——. Dinner and bed.

The same day the Bishop writes to his son Ernest: 'I feel to-day like a wrung-out napkin. I am going over to Brighstone to-day to see my old paradise. Oh! would that I had been worthier of it!'

August 4.—Brighstone. Morning prepared sermon on 'went forth,' Mark viii. Nice congregation. Forty years since I worshipped here with my Emily and the Sargents. These forty years in the Wilderness. Tried hard to pray. Miserere Domine.

From Danny, in Sussex, the Bishop writes to Archbishop Trench about the doings of the Ritual Commission:—

The Bishop of Oxford to Archbishop Trench.

August 14, 1867.

I am down for 3 days with our common and dear friends the Campions, having engaged to speak near here for Woodard's Schools. The eldest son, a charming fellow, fills me with apprehension for my friends here by his look and by a cough left by an attack of pleurisy.

I am returning to-day to Cuddesdon to preach to my College to-night, but have to return to-morrow for two meetings of the Ritual Commission, which we hope may wind up our sittings until November. I think it probable we shall utter now on the Vestments of the Minister. There is no lack of strength in the Low Church party in our body. They outnumber and out-talk all of another way of thinking; and the end is not easy to foresee.

May God keep us, dearest friend, through this troublous time and gather us at last to His rest!

To Mr. Gordon the Bishop writes, and describes

one of those pleasant parties which the late Lord Stanhope used to gather together at Chevening :—

Chevening, August 18, 1867.

You know this place and my host and hostess. I came down here on Friday till to-morrow, when the Ritual Commission carries me back to London. It is a pleasant party, and will bring back, I think, old associations to you when I enumerate the names. There is Motley and Lord and Lady Sydney—*she* was always a favourite of mine—and Lord Beauchamp, always a very good and nice fellow, but, I think, an improvement in many ways on F. Lygon; and Delane as fresh as ever; Meynell Ingram and his charming wife, Lord Halifax's daughter. No one even guesses at the political future: whether a fresh election will strengthen the Conservatives or not seems altogether doubtful. The most wonderful thing is the rise of Disraeli. It is not the mere assertion of talent, as you hear so many say. It seems to me quite beside that. He has been able to teach the House of Commons almost to ignore Gladstone; and at present lords it over him, and, I am told, says that he will hold him down for twenty years.

On August 22, the Bishop presided at a Conference of Sunday-school teachers at Newport, Isle of Wight. The Bishop summed up the proceedings of the day. He said children taught at the Sunday schools might be divided into two classes: those who attended all the week and those who attended only on the Sunday. He pointed out the great benefit which accrued to the Church and to the parish in retaining hold of those boys of fourteen and fifteen who had left the regular school and could only attend on the Sunday. He warned the teachers against mixing the classes. He said many of these elder ones left the Sunday school, and would not attend because they were put with the infants; and he illustrated this with a happy simile: 'The rook never frequented the same ground with the starling,

who was a busy talkative gentleman; but the rook was a quiet sort of fellow, and therefore, when a starling came near, the rook looked at him with a peculiar cock of the eye and then flew away.' The Bishop impressed on the teachers present the necessity of kind dealing with the younger children.

Sunday was as much a day of rest for children as for grown-up people, and it was a mistaken idea to take children, whom God made volatile, who could not be still for a moment, because it was their nature, who were always dropping off to sleep on the benches they sat on, because they needed sleep, and would begin to whisper and laugh to one another, because they needed that sort of thing just as much as the bee needed to go buz—uz, when he flies about—to take little creatures whom God had made in this way, sit them on a hard bench and make horrid faces at them when they began to buzz, or knock them on the head if they went to sleep, was, as he had said before, a wrong idea. In his experience, Sunday-school teachers failed very much because they acted on the 'Be good' system; their great object seemed to be to keep dinning the children's ears with 'Be good, be good, be good.' That seemed in many instances to be the beginning and end of all teaching, and a marvellously unfruitful teaching it would be for either man, woman, or child. . . . To bring his remarks to a close, he would say, love the Sunday-school children, make them happy; give them in little teaching as much as they could individually; never let them get tired; if they went to sleep, don't wake them; let them kick their legs about when sitting on the bench, if they like; let them have as much rest as possible, so as to keep their minds in a state of receptivity; and don't expect a great deal immediately from the teaching. It was the bringing a younger, less taught, and less disciplined mind under the gradual influence of an older, better taught, and a more disciplined mind which did the work.

The diary entry for the day is:—

August 22.—Up early. Read office and wrote before breakfast. Then Brighstone and saw Mrs. M'Call. On to

Brook. Wonderful view towards Isle of Purbeck. The cliffs setting down into the water like the land which is far away. Home and many to luncheon. Conference. Preached on Daniel's vision, 'Ancient of Days.'

Writing to Bishop Milman, the Bishop thus touches upon some of the current Church topics :—

August 27, 1867.

All I have heard from you, and of you, has interested me *intensely*, and anything I can do to aid you in carrying out your designs for God's glory in India I shall indeed find it a joy to do; so pray freely use me whenever you can.

This has been a year of extraordinary employment and deep anxiety. The Ritual question, the defeat of Shaftesbury's short and easy method of persecution, the gaining of the Ritual Commission instead, and, since that, the management of the Commission so as to prevent a schism, have required prayer and thought and labour more than anything I have known before. I trust that, through God's mercy, we have agreed on a first Report which will tend to the quietness and safety of the Church. We have now a very anxious matter in the Pan-Anglican Synod. We cannot act synodically; and yet to meet and not to act has a damaging air of weakness. The great practical difficulty is Colenso. Passing him over *is* a practical recognition of the excommunication which is of no small value; and yet being silent when the Church, if she could, certainly ought to speak, is no small evil and must be a scandal. May God deliver us from all our manifold difficulties! In this pressure I am often tempted to believe that the days of our Establishment are numbered and few. The loss of such a change would, I believe, be so great to the nation, and in some respects to the Church, that I would strive earnestly to postpone it as long as it is possible.

The idea of the Pan-Anglican Synod, as it was generally termed, but more properly speaking Pan-Anglican Conference, which was held at Lambeth in this year, had been brought before the Bishops in

February 1866 on a Memorial from the Canadian Bishops, requesting the Archbishop to summon such a Conference. On that occasion the Archbishop said he thought that the time had not come for a united Synod. In the following year this application was again under consideration. The meeting at which the suggestion was adopted was attended by many of the Canadian and Colonial Bishops, and the Archbishop called upon the Bishop of Montreal to open the discussion, which ended in an agreement that the Archbishop should issue invitations. This was done on February 22, with the result that seventy-eight Bishops assembled, on September 24, at Lambeth for mutual conference. This meeting, which ended peacefully on September 27, might have had a very different termination. Bishop Gray, who came to England for the Conference, wished to propose a resolution condemning Bishop Colenso. This question had not been inserted in any of the prospectuses which had been issued; had it been, doubtless many Bishops who attended would not have come. On September 10 the Archbishop wrote to Bishop Wilberforce on the subject as follows:—

> I really cannot think it reasonable to write as though nothing had yet been done, as regards the Conference, in repudiation of Dr. Colenso, and in support of the judgment against him. No words can more significantly express the mind of the Conference than his absolute exclusion from it.

The Archbishop begged the Bishop to dissuade Bishop Gray from taking such a step as he contemplated, which, the Archbishop said, would, in his opinion, have the effect of 'causing a dissolution of the assembly.' In consequence of this appeal the Bishop saw Bishop Gray on the 13th, and with what effect the following sentence from a letter from the

Archbishop on September 14 shows: 'I am very glad to hear that Capetown is *gentled.* The Bishop of New Zealand is with me and quite takes our view of his case.' The resolution proposed by Bishop Gray was a public repudiation and disowning of Bishop Colenso, and recognising the excommunication. The resolution he was finally induced to adopt was (1) the reference of the matter to a Committee to report, and (2) acquiescence in the resolution passed by Convocation. The Bishop's diary for the days of the Conference is as follows :—

September 24.—After prayers and breakfast to Lambeth. Holy Communion in chapel, a very striking service. Bishop of Illinois' sermon a flow of words without ideas, and very long and nothing to the point. Preliminary discussion all day about whether 'Protestant' should stand in resolution. To Lambeth to dinner; very large and interesting party.

September 25.—To Lambeth, as before. Discussion all day. Archbishop desired me to prepare a draft Encyclical. At night again to Fulham.

September 26.—Up early and wrote Encyclical. Address read and approved. Committee appointed to amend. With the Archbishop to Addington. Bishop of Rhode Island full of humour. Long and anxious talk about Natal.

September 27.—Up to meeting. Again anxious about Natal. Bishop of New Zealand's grand but over-strong speech. Address adopted with enthusiasm. Carried, against London, Winchester, and St. David's, our acquiescence in the advice tendered by Convocation to Natal. Meeting at St. James's Hall; Bishop of London excited. To Fulham again.

A few days after, the Bishop received the following from the Rev. Sir Henry Thompson :—

You enjoy the credit of having penned the Pan-Anglican Pastoral, and a very creditable document it is. I don't think it will quite come up to Archdeacon Denison's ideas, nor

probably will you receive any complimentary letter from Dr. M'Neile. But the vast body of the clergy will, I am sure, greatly approve of the calm, dignified, affectionate spirit it breathes throughout.

In order that the relations which existed between Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Gray should not be misunderstood or misinterpreted, because on certain occasions Bishop Wilberforce found it necessary to restrain his friend's ardent temperament, the tribute to Bishop Gray's memory, delivered at the Church Congress at Leeds in 1872, just after the intelligence of Bishop Gray's death had been received, is given :—

It was given to me to know that sainted man with a degree of intimacy which few others attained to; to hear from him just at the end of his course; to have the first news from those who stood around of every expression of that death-bed; and I can only say I think a nobler example has never been seen of the union of Christian courage, untiring firmness, power of organisation, fearlessness in danger, self-sacrifice at every turn—money, life, time, family, health, all given up for the cause of Christ, with a readiness of surrender which it is given to few men to achieve;—and all this, I venture to say, united with a humble tenderness of heart which a woman might envy. He is taken from us, but surely the Church of England, in sending out such a hero to find his bed of glory, is ennobling herself through the sacrifice of her son.

From the Pan-Anglican Conference the Bishop went to the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, where he twice spoke; first on Church Patronage, and then addressing a large meeting of working men. From Wolverhampton the Bishop travelled to Newbury for work in the diocese. This was cut short by a severe attack of bronchitis, the result of a neglected cold. Two sermons the day after the cold had been caught laid the Bishop up, and he had to return to Cuddesdon,

where for many days he was confined to his bed or his room, by a severe illness. Near the beginning of this illness the diary notes :—

October 6.—Did not get a *wink* of sleep from laryngitis. Bed, blister, and medicine. A very solitary day; all day alone. Read Liddon. I hope some earnest thought and prayer. God grant it fruitful!

On October 14, the Bishop thus writes to Sir Charles Anderson from Blenheim :—

I worked too soon last Tuesday and brought on a relapse, and have been very little out of bed since. I was to have dined at the magistrates' dinner to-day in Oxford, and particularly wished to do it, but I was not well enough. To-morrow, D.V., I am going back to Cuddesdon, giving up work, and Ernest and F—— are coming to nurse me, and I hope very soon to be well and free from mustard poultices, blisters, and all the rest of that disagreeable army. Nothing can be kinder than the Duke and Duchess have been. I enjoyed meeting Disraeli. He is a marvellous man. Not a bit a Briton, but all over an Eastern Jew; but very interesting to talk to. He evidently feels no confidence in the Government holding its own, and yet has a good hope that it will. He *always* speaks as if he did believe in the Church. I am grieved at the report of your Bishop's charge in the newspaper. I did not conceive it possible he could have gone so far as to give up the Apostolical Succession, and I think his letting fly at Sacerdotalism base, because he must know that most of those who speak of it mean only a real belief in the Kingdom of Grace. It would have done your heart good to hear the Bishop of New Zealand at the Conference lay it on the Erastianism of so many of our body. To-day is charming here; south-west wind and as soft as summer. I went out for the first time in the middle of the day with the Duke in these beautiful grounds, and to-day, with the varying tints, they really were most lovely.

October 23.—Better, D.G. After breakfast rode to Headington Quarry, and on to Oxford. Bishop of Rhode

Island's affectionate farewell. To London, University Assurance, and to Latimer. At Latimer, Stratford de Redcliffes, Clarendons, and Lloyd; William Comptons—pleasant evening. Lord Clarendon's story about Thiers. 'He wrote me a letter, when I was Foreign Secretary under Melbourne, of five sheets, to propose our allowing the Emperor's bones to be brought to France. I read it to the Cabinet; they resolved it was expedient to allow it. I thought about it, and, after thinking, it occurred to me that the man who had made him bones ought to be consulted; so I went to Melbourne and said, "Should not the Duke be consulted?" He said, "It is a confounded good idea, Clarendon; so you go and see him." Well, there was no escape, so I wrote to the Duke and said I wished to see him from the Cabinet. Got answer, "I wait for you." So I went off, and he received me in a room with two sort of stools of penitence—he on one, beckoned me on to the other. I opened my budget. He said, "Oh, I tell you what it is; if we give up the bones they'll only think it is because we don't dare keep them. So I should refuse, and not care a twopenny—for *all* the row they'll make." Clarendon told me of Pélissier drinking port at the Queen's for claret, and his ludicrous apostrophes; communicating his intended marriage, to Clarendon. Could not remember her name. '*Elle meurt de joie*; a *Maréchale*, a *Duchesse*, an *Ambassadrice;* so many *mille livres; elle meurt de joie.*'

Thiers, when Clarendon was in Paris, opening to him all that he thought the Emperor might do, and implying his readiness to help. Clarendon saying, 'Well, my good friend, I shall see him to-morrow, and with your leave I will repeat all.' Thiers replied, 'Oh no, no, no! I have spoken, mon cher Vill*ers*, to you as an *intime.*' 'Ah! I understand; my mouth is *fermée*; not a word will I speak.' 'Well, mon bon Vill*ers*, you are used to these things; say nothing *from* me, but if you see fit to say anything I leave you free.' 'Well, I shall see fit to say every word to-morrow to the Emperor, as I have told you I should.' Next day I told the Emperor. He said, 'Ah, le coquin Thiers; I know him well; I know I may have him if I lift my finger up to him, as I may a *fiacre* from the stand; but I am not going to lift up my finger.'

Clarendon spoke to me with the utmost bitterness of Lord Derby.' 'Had studied him ever since he (Clarendon) was in the House of Lords. No generosity, never, to friend or foe; never acknowledged help; a great aristocrat, proud of family wealth. He had only agreed to this[4] as he would of old have backed a horse at Newmarket; hated Disraeli, but believed in him as he would have done in an unprincipled trainer; he wins, that is all. He knows the garlic given, &c. He says to those without, "All fair, gentlemen."'

October 31.—Quantock. Rode a beautiful ride on Quantock downs, with the two girls. After luncheon to Bridgewater, and joined my Bas., and on with him to Bishopstowe. Old Bishop quite himself, but kinder; memory perfect, and full of complaisance.

To the Rev. H. Pearson the Bishop writes on November 2:—

I find the Bishop of Exeter in full force intellectually, and in fair health—very kind and full of hospitable courtesy. It is very striking to see the taming of the Old Lion.

In 1860, the spire of Chichester Cathedral fell, or, more properly speaking, collapsed. The county of Sussex, headed by its then Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Richmond, raised the whole sum necessary for its rebuilding, 50,000*l.*; and in the short space of seven years this spire, the only cathedral spire visible from the sea, was rebuilt. November 14 was the day fixed for the re-opening of the Cathedral, and Bishop Wilberforce was requested to preach the sermon. The re-opening was taken as the occasion for an ecclesiastical gathering; and several Bishops and many clergy were present. The services in connection with these meetings extended over four days, the preachers being Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of Rochester, Bishop of Illinois, and Bishop Trower (Gibraltar). It had not

[4] The Reform Bill.

been arranged who was to preach the concluding sermon on Sunday the 17th. Bishop Wilberforce therefore wrote to Dean Hook, asking him, and received the following answer:—

Evening, the great Lord Bishop of England; you may ask anyone in the street who he is and you will receive the same answer.

From Cuddesdon the Bishop writes this descriptive letter to Mr. Gordon on the events of the year, most of which have been already alluded to. In the first paragraph of the letter, the Queen's book is mentioned. This was the first instalment of those works which make Prince Albert's life among us familiar to all. It was called 'The Early Years of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort,' and was, by the special request of the Queen, reviewed in the pages of the 'Quarterly' by the Bishop.

November 24, 1867.

I think the general opinion on the Queen's book is that it is a great success. The very high Tories who hated the Prince speak against it. But my opinion is that it is a cry from her heart for her people's sympathy, and that the greatness of the occasion justified the strangeness of the proceeding, and that the cry for sympathy has been answered. The Review in the 'Quarterly' *exactly* describes my view.

No man living, in my judgment, can form any idea of the result of the Reform Bill. I incline to believe that its earlier effects will be favourable to the Church, and therefore to the monarchy. But in its ultimate consequences I cannot see how it can be otherwise than democratic. It is an appeal to the people against the Whigs. Disraeli speaks exactly as he wrote in 'Sybil.' I had a good deal of talk with him lately at Blenheim. He is full of hope, and speaks, when most confidentially, most *à la* 'Sybil.'

The Lambeth gathering was a very great success. Its strongly anti-Erastian tone, rebuking the Bishop of London and strengthening those who hope to maintain the Establish-

ment by maintaining, instead of by surrendering, the dogmatic character of the Church, was quite remarkable. We are now sitting in Committee trying to complete our work—agree to a voluntary court of highest doctrinal appeal for the free colonies of America. If we can carry this out, we shall have erected a barrier of immense moral strength against the Privy Council Latitudinarianism. My view is that God gives us the opportunity, as at home Latitudinarianism must spread, of encircling the home Church with a band of far more dogmatic truth-holding communions who will act most strongly in favour of truth here. *I* was in great measure the framer of the Pan-Anglican for this purpose, and the result has abundantly satisfied me. The American Bishops won golden opinions. The fury of 'The Times' and the 'Pall Mall' mark exactly on the thermometer the point of pro-dogmatic strength which was obtained. I do not differ, I am sure, from you about the Ritualists. If they would have been less demonstrative, they might have made good their position. But their vehemence, vituperation, and self-will have been their great hindrance. The Commission saved, I believe, Parliamentary interference. I pressed it with that view—for Parliamentary interference meant persecution and separation. The conclusion to which the Commission was brought was really wonderful. I had no hopes of such a success when I began the struggle in it. Beauchamp is exactly the man he was. Write to him and get him to give you his history of the matter; it will, I am certain, interest you greatly. We are sitting again two days a week, and I am worked to death.

The Duke of Argyll's book is very thoughtful and with a great deal of good in it, but liked by the older men more than the younger.

Abyssinia is a mist, and a very disagreeable mist.

Abercorn[5] succeeds remarkably well. Fenianism is a horrible nightmare, a secret conspiracy of the vilest and most threatening kind. Hardy told me last Wednesday that the leaders had warned Derby, himself, and Mayo, that if the three villains hung yesterday were executed, he should not survive the week! I wish you were here, dearest Arthur, to use the

[5] Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

furniture and look at the remembered rooms. I only got here late Friday for two days' hard work, and am away again to-morrow. Basil's boy is charming, very clever and pretty and full of charm. He runs about, does everything, and, I think, means very soon to talk. Here is a long yarn spun out of busiest time. Will you remember me affectionately to your wife, and believe me most affectionately yours, S. OXON.

December 1.—Oxford. Morning: low and tired. Day hot and damp. Prepared and preached at St. Peter's in the East with some interest. Lunched with Dean of Christ Church. Then preached at St. Mary Magdalene. Called on dear old M'Bride: most affecting. 'I wanted to see you to tell you how I love and respect you'—seemed like a voice from the other world. Saw some young men—candidates for Orders. Wrote. Very cold night, snow and frost.

December 7.—New Lodge, Windsor. Wrote many letters. After luncheon walked with Van de Weyer; he full of conversation. Said he had *heard* Lady John Russell say, 'I always come down with him to the House to look after him and see that no one else talks him over from what I have told him to say.' Afterwards to Windsor Castle. Dined with the Queen, Prince Arthur, Princess Louise, Wellesleys, Derbys. The Queen very affable, friendly, and cheery. Much talk with Derby; pressed Leighton on him for next Bishopric.[6]

On Christmas Day the Bishop thus writes to his son Ernest:—

Christmas Day must not be without its merry Christmas from me to you. I quite long to have you *all* round me: but it is the true tone and colour of this world that as you get professions and wives you are parted from the old family. I am passing away too; and you are all coming on. God grant, my dear one, that you may be better and wiser and more useful and happier than ever your father has been.

[6] A letter from Lord Derby to the Bishop, written in 1868, after his resignation, proves, that had Lord Derby had the opportunity he would have nominated Dr. Leighton for the See of Hereford.

CHAPTER IX.

(1868.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE RITUAL COMMISSION—LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP—SIR C. ANDERSON—DIARY—GOOD FRIDAY—IRISH CHURCH—LETTER FROM MR. DISRAELI—DIARY—CONVERSATION WITH LORD O. RUSSELL—CONFIRMATION AT WESTMINSTER—DEAN STANLEY'S LETTER—DIOCESAN MANAGEMENT—LETTERS TO CLERGY—MR. AND MRS. PYE'S SECESSION TO ROME—DIARY—LETTERS TO SIR C. ANDERSON—REV. E. WILBERFORCE—DIARY—LETTER TO MR. DISRAELI—CHURCH CONGRESS IN IRELAND—DIARY—VISIT TO KNOWSLEY—DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP LONGLEY—LETTER FROM MR. DISRAELI—DIARY—DEAN WELLESLEY'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH APPOINTMENTS—LETTERS TO SIR C. ANDERSON—VISIT TO HATFIELD—LETTERS TO REV. E. WILBERFORCE—SIR C. ANDERSON.

IN February the Ritual Commissioners resumed their sittings. The Bishop was present on February 5. The next day the diary records :—

Ritual; a long fight as to candles; I for postponing advice until the legal question is settled.

Extracts from letters to his son Ernest throw some light on the line the Bishop took in the Commission previous to the second Report.

February 7.

I hope we may preserve liberty. I had a fierce battle yesterday at the Commission, and expect another on Wednesday next.

February 13.

Hot fights in the Jerusalem Chamber, and I know not how much I shall save.

February 19.

I think I have managed to take the sting out of some resolutions to which, as they stood, I was very much opposed.

March 26.

I am fighting, as I can, unfairness and tyranny in the Report. But the difficulty is what to say for the revival without authority of very demonstrative uses, objectionable to most, which have been for 300 years utterly disused.

The second Report appeared early in May. Of the twenty-nine Commissioners, six did not sign the Report at all; four, including the Bishop, signed with qualifications. The Report recommended legislation on the subject of incense and candles; it was against this proposal that the Bishop protested. After hearing evidence and after all the arguments which had been adduced, he was still of the opinion which has already been so fully stated, that 'offence, whether caused by excess or defect in Divine service, may be removed by strengthening the hands of the Bishop, with appeal to the Archbishop.' The Bishop further protested because he was convinced that no *law* could regulate gesture and posture, which, in his opinion, were much better left to the good sense and good feeling of each parish.

In a letter to the Archbishop, the reasons which compelled the Bishop to dissent from the Report are more fully defined:—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cuddesdon, April 17, 1868.

My dear Archbishop,—I am asked to send to you the printed paper which will accompany this from Mr. Kempe. It expresses the view which the Dean of Ely, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hope, Sir R. Phillimore, and myself (and, except as regards the possible legality of the altar lights, Mr. Coleridge) take of the second Report as agreed to. But as the appeal has been lodged since this paper was drawn up, some of us would be glad of the opportunity of revising it,

if time allows, before it is formally attached to the second Report. I cannot say to you the pain it gives me not to assent to anything which has your sanction. I cannot but believe that our common aim would have been better promoted by an united advice that the Bishop and Archbishop should be *empowered* to stop these things, than by a divided Report advising the compelling the Bishop to act, and so, in my judgment, simply abrogating his office. I am, my dear Archbishop, your dutiful and very affectionate,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Rail to London, March 25.

Many thanks for yours, which has reached me to-day at Shardeloes, T. Drake's house near Amersham. It is a fine place, and was one of the most *complete* positions in England when, besides, as now, a great landed property and the rectory of 1,100*l.* a year, with a grand house, it returned the two members for the town of Amersham. I am still about on my Confirmations, and shall be till Easter, and intend after, coming up for Thursday and Friday each week to attend the Ritual Commission, whither I am wending now, going on Friday evening to Eton for the Confirmation there on Saturday and a sermon to the college on Sunday. I am very sorry Gladstone has moved the attack on the Irish Church. It seems so utterly unfit a subject for *this* Parliament, and as to people saying, with 'The Times' to-day, that Dizzy can't dissolve, because there *is* no country to appeal to, that seems to me to tell only against those who appeal for an answer on such a question to a Parliament behind which is no 'country' to appeal to. I take it that the only doubt of Dizzy dissolving is that it must spend the money of his side before the election of next spring. But it is altogether a bad business, and I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious influence of his restlessness at being out of office. I have no doubt that his hatred to the *low* tone of the Irish branch has had a great deal to do with it.

March 25.—After letters and breakfast to Woburn; nice Confirmation. On to London. Long talk with Philli-

more. Dine Cranbourne's—Stanhopes, Lady C. Denison, Childers, Delane. With Stanhope to Foreign Office. Snowy. Great crowd. Gladstone brought me home. He said, 'The operations of last year had destroyed the whole power of Conservative resistance: the stream now so strong, alteration in the whole tone of House of Commons.' Dizzy in his glory, leading about the Princess of Wales; the Prince of Wales, Mrs. Dizzy—she looking very ill and haggard. The impenetrable man low. All looks to me as if England's 'Mene, Mene,' were written on our walls.

March 26.—Breakfast. Gladstone came to talk about Church Rate Bill; as earnest as ever on his clause for making non-payer non-voter. Henley and the Erastians opposing in the House. We agreed, and he did not even broach his Irish Church plans. Ritual Commission all day. Dined Gathorne Hardy's. Gladstone's new commandment: 'Thou shalt not commit Adullamy.'

Erskine said, 'When Lord Chelmsford surrendered the seals to the Queen, he held them back a minute, and said, "I have been used worse than a menial servant; I have not had even a month's warning."' Mrs. Disraeli told the Queen 'when Disraeli has a sore throat, I cure him by putting my arm round his throat, and keeping it round all night.'

March 31.—Beautiful morning. Up early. Wrote draft Report for Ritual Commission. Charming letters from Reg. and E. and F. as to Reginald's baby. Walk in grounds at Hedgerley. Off for High Wycombe. H. Paddon all kindness. A poor Confirmation—only five males from Wycombe. Then to West Wycombe; great improvement there; —— evidently done work. On to Braddenham; kind welcome; a nice Confirmation. Walk after on wild ground—beautiful grounds and sunset.

April 2.—Breakfast at Hope's and long discussion on Ritual. Then to Ritual Commission. Then to House of Commons and heard Roebuck; very clever on Irish Church, smashing all Gladstone's arguments, and then winding up with being ready to vote as against all Establishments.

April 10.—(Good Friday.) Preached morning. Confirmed at St. Mary's and preached. Confirmed St. Thomas,

Oxford, and Penitentiary. Out late, very much tired indeed.

A reference to the pages of 'The Guardian' fills up this bare outline of a day's work. It appears that in the morning the Bishop preached at Cuddesdon, then drove into Oxford, where at 3 o'clock he confirmed 139 candidates at St. Mary's.

'This Church was as densely crowded as at one of the Lent sermons. At the end of the Confirmation, the Bishop, on being requested to make a further address to the candidates, went up into the pulpit and preached with great power from the text, "Not this man, but Barabbas."

'At the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr the Bishop confirmed exactly the same number of persons in the course of the same afternoon; and at seven o'clock on the same evening he held a third Confirmation at the Holywell Penitentiary.'

April 11.—Off at ten for Oxford, and on to Bloxham. Very nice Confirmation. On to London. Saw A.,[7] Reg., and baby. Dined Athenæum. Talk with Gould: he suspects my woodchat; says it was brought in the flesh from France. He said 'the nightingales will arrive to-morrow. Men waiting to trap them as soon as they arrive. The first fetch the best price. Striking local presence of birds: one sort of humming-bird found only in the crater of one extinct volcano.'

The above diary entry furnishes an opportunity of giving two authentic anecdotes illustrative of the Bishop's love of natural history.

The Bishop's love of natural objects, and especially his great knowledge of birds, was well understood by the country people about Cuddesdon. On one occasion, as he was returning home on horseback, a boy jumped through a newly made hedge, and the Bishop rated him somewhat sharply for damaging the farmer's

[7] Anna Maria, third daughter of The Hon. R. Denman, married to R. G. Wilberforce, 1867.

property, and desired him to come up to the Palace for another word of reproof in the evening. The boy was for a moment cowed and silent; but then, pulling his hair, said in a low voice: 'Please, your lordship, I've got a wonderful rare bird at home, that I meant to bring to your lordship.' The Bishop asked what the bird was, and was told that it was a sort of king-fisher. Further inquiry convinced the Bishop that it really belonged to a species rarely met with in Oxford-shire. The boy had carried the day. The Bishop slipped half-a-crown into his hand, and told him to bring the bird to the Palace as soon as he got home.[8]

'On one occasion I wanted to see the Bishop and went up to Cuddesdon for the purpose. He had come home late the night before, and, although it was now early, was beset by visitors; I had to wait some time, and on going into the library I found the Bishop surrounded by papers and absorbed with work, but yet ready for the moment to give full attention to me as he had done to many others in succession. On seeing me he pointed at once to the window, saying: "Do you see what I have got there?" On looking I saw a stick stuck upright in the lawn with a piece of beef fat fastened to the end of it. He added: "I want to see how many species of titmice come to this garden. I have already seen the ox-eye, the blue-tit, and the cole-titmouse."

'Not only had he thought of this amid his other occupations, but on the instant of my entrance, he connected my love of ornithology with it, and probably gained time by the remark to finish hastily some letter before him.'[9]

[8] Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Liddon, who was walking by the Bishop's side at the time.

[9] Communicated by the Rev. E. Elton, Vicar of Wheatly, Oxfordshire.

April 21.—All day in discussion with the Rural Deans. Especially on Church Rates and Irish Church. They, all but two, against the Disestablishment. I spoke at length, and they much pleased. Rode with Basil; saw two common and two sand-martins hawking about at Horspath.

The result of this discussion was a petition to Parliament against the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church. Mr. Disraeli had requested the Bishop to obtain some expression of opinion from the diocese on this subject, and had somewhat complained of the apparent apathy of the clergy. The letter itself concludes with a somewhat remarkable prediction, considering who was the writer.

The Right Hon. B. Disraeli to the Bishop of Oxford.

Hughenden Manor, April 15, 1868.

My dear Lord,—I wish very much to know what is the *mot d'ordre* to the diocese on the present state of affairs.

The Duke of Buckingham writes to me that the clergy will not move in his district.

I can understand that a High Church clergy may not sympathise very strongly with a Calvinistic branch of the Establishment, but I speak my sincere conviction when I say that if they allow this sentiment to neutralise their action on this occasion, they will be taking an unwise course, and will be influenced by a very contracted view.

The fate of the Established Church will depend upon the opinion of the country as it is directed, formed, and organised during the next eight months.

Don't let any of us flatter ourselves that 'it will last our time.' We live in a rapid age, and if there be apathy now, it will not last my time or your Lordship's. Yours sincerely,

D.

April 23.—At two, christened my dear Reginald's baby in Westminster Abbey. What blessings given me as to this.

Bounty Board Committee at three. House of Lords on Church Rates.

On the 24th the Bishop went to Cuddesdon, where he received a large party in anticipation of the laying of the first stone of Keble College, which was to take place on the 25th. The Bishop had undertaken to preach the sermon, on the preparation of which the diary records he had been busy for some time.

April 25.—Up early to finish sermon. Rode into Oxford with Gathorne Hardy and Bishop of Lichfield. People pleased with sermon and congregation good. Then stone-laying and theatre. Bishop of Lichfield's speech displeased me—egotistical and exaggerated; Beauchamp spoke well; Pusey, for sense, very well; Sir W. Heathcote too; Archbishop nicely; I pleased people. Rode out with Percy Barrington and Hardy. Large party again: heads of Houses, &c.

April 26.—Early Communion. I preached in morning on 'I know my sheep,' feeling it. Walked with Hardy, &c., to Wheatley. Afternoon service for steeple-opening; preached on Balaam. Walked home. Much talk with Hardy; he firm, sound, able, and very good.

May 3.—(Sunday.) Early breakfast, and with Leighton down to Sonning; preached on 'Honour all men;' very nice service; church beautiful; day lovely. Wrote a little. Walked in ——'s grounds, and saw him. What a wreck! Sat with Leighton and Hugh Pearson, and read hymns out of his hymn-book, on a ledge looking over the Thames valley; nightingales, cuckoo, thrush singing; all nature in praise. The Warden preached excellently; alas! I drowsy and very tired at night.

May 5.—Morning, letters, &c. To Hardy about Leighton and Hereford; he warmly favourable, and will communicate again with Disraeli. Then to Duke of Marlborough; he favourable to not requiring preliminary examination; curious relations with Disraeli; thought that they ought to resign, &c. Dined at Sion College with Bishop of London.

May 6.—After breakfast to open Elsdale's[1] church (St. John the Divine, Kennington); preached on 'Honour all men.' Luncheon, &c.; dear Principal there. Then to St. James's Hall meeting; hissing, as forewarned by Mr. Pope, attempted, and stopped by ejection of Dr. Turle. Dined Phillimore's, pleasant—Speaker and Lady C. Denison, R. Cavendish.

The meeting mentioned above was the great demonstration in support of the union between Church and State, then threatened by Mr. Gladstone's resolutions on the Irish Church. The meeting was a very large one, and was very influentially attended; the four Archbishops, five Dukes, eighteen Earls, seven Viscounts, twenty-one Bishops, and twelve Barons being present. The Bishop, who was received with great cheering and a few hisses, referring to the latter, said:—

If my kind friends in the body of the hall would take no more notice than I do of the sibilant geese who are giving vent to their natural utterance, we shall be able to go on with the business of the meeting; but if those sibilant persons think that I am so young that their inoffensive noise can stand in the way of my speaking upon this resolution, I can tell them that they have mistaken their man.

May 13.—Voice very bad. At St. Thomas's Hospital stone-laying; fine sight; the Queen well received. Dined St. Bartholomew's with the Prince of Wales; he very civil—wished me to give his health, &c.

May 18.—Letters, &c. London House for Natal Committee, and, strange to say, agreed on resolutions affirming the letters patent; right for Bishop of Capetown as Metropolitan to proceed. House of Lords and Commons. Dined Archbishop of Dublin.

May 21.—Wrote, sermon, &c. To Lambeth; helped in Celebration. Discussion on Irish Church. Bishop of St. David's enigmatic; but told me privately that he thought

[1] Mr. Elsdale was an old Cuddesdon College pupil.

the Irish prelates should give up social precedence. Natal Committee at London House. Rode, and dined at Lambeth.

May 23.—Early sermon. To Bloomsbury Place, Sons of clergy: Duke of Cambridge, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. Then in carriage with the Archbishop, who opened to me the Duke of Buckingham's proposal to give mandate for Bishop of Eastern Africa, and to allow those in Natal who would to join him. Natal Committee at Ely House, and much agreement in main discussion. Dined with the Archbishop. Rumours of split in Cabinet and dissolution. God forbid!

The next entry refers to the proposed union with the Eastern Church, in the furtherance of which the Bishop had always taken a deep interest.

June 12.—Early Communion. To Buckingham Palace. To Ottoman ambassador: he catches at idea of Patriarch *assisting* at opening of Memorial Church; thinks he can get him to do it. Greeks are *allowed* to attend our services, we should reciprocate, &c. To House of Lords; army chaplains —Government yields.

June 13.—Early. Church. Wrote. Sat at Buckingham Palace for picture.[2] Breakfast at Lord Dartrey's—Duc d'Aumale, Dufferin; a good deal of talk about Ireland. Lectionary. With Lord Longford about army chaplains. Rode with Bishop of Gloucester. Wrote. Dined Clarendon's. Gladstone thinks something may be saved out of Church Rate Bill. Lords Enfield, Skelmersdale, Odo Russell—much talk with him; he said, 'Manning's influence at Rome absolutely a personal influence with the Pope. The Pope a man of strong will, though of intense vanity, cannot bear the slightest contradiction, but very fond of all who take his absolute dicta as law. This Manning has played upon, and got on. He is more Papal than the Pope—repeats to the Pope all his own ideas, which pleases him exceedingly. Clifford had resisted the Pope, which was why he passed him by as Archbishop. Manning's appointment protested against by all the old Roman families in England, but the Pope

[2] The picture of the Prince of Wales's wedding.

would not listen. Manning most obsequious: creeps on hands and knees to kiss his toe, and, even when bidden to get up, remains prostrate in awe. This delights Pio Nono. The common saying amongst the Roman Catholics at Rome is: "Other Popes believed themselves the vicars of Jesus Christ; Pio believes that Jesus Christ is his vicar." He is under great apprehension of dying this year, from the superstition of no Pope outliving his 25th year of Popedom. The saying at Rome is that if he outlives it, and presides over the Synod of 1869, he will, by a new decree, pronounce himself to be a fourth person in the Trinity.

'When Wiseman delivered his lectures at the British Institution, the Pope sent for him (Odo Russell), and desired him to express to the Prime Minister his thanks for the allowance. He explained that he had nothing to do with it. The Pope replied that he understood its being denied, but it was so, and begged to have his message sent.'

The next entry refers to the Lectionary Committee. This Committee was appointed by the Royal Commissioners on Ritual on November 21, 1867. They held forty meetings, at nearly all of which the Bishop was present as Chairman, and they reported on June 21, 1869; their labours resulted in the new Table of Lessons, now universally in use. An amusing story as to the new Lectionary used to be told by the Bishop. As Chairman of the Committee, he received numerous letters containing suggestions. One of his correspondents, Mr. Burgon, was very indignant at the bare idea of a proposed change, and his correspondence was couched in very strong language. When, at last, all was complete and the new table of Lessons sanctioned, with a proviso that the use was not to be compulsory for seven years, he wrote, 'I am thankful that I have yet seven more years in which I can continue my ministry in the Church, at the end of which I will, sooner than read the mutilated Bible, cheerfully go to prison.'

The permissive use of the new Lectionary did not begin until January 1, 1872. The next morning the Bishop received a letter saying: 'You will be interested to hear that our mutual friend Burgon concluded the second lesson on December 31 with, "Here endeth the old Lectionary," and next morning began the new one.'

June 22.—Early. Church. Wrote. Lectionary Committee. To the Queen's garden party, which quite a success, fine, pretty, and amusing. Lord John changed on Ritual—agrees with my objections to second Report. Dined Admiral Howard's.

July 11.—Earlyish. Confirmed Westminster School. Drove with Dean of Westminster to breakfast at H. Gibbs'—large party. Drove back to lodgings, and Lectionary Committee. Letters. Rode down to Fulham—great gathering.

Dean Stanley's letter, inviting the Bishop to the Confirmation chronicled above, is:—

May I send a reminder of the Confirmation on Saturday the 11th, at 10 A.M.? *This* is a subject on which we entirely agree, and you know that it is with the most unfeigned pleasure that I look forwards or backwards to your Confirmations, whether at Sonning or Westminster; so you must not disappoint me.

The next letter was occasioned by a great and dear friend of the Bishop, a regular communicant, withdrawing from the Holy Communion on account of the ritual extravagances of the Rector. The Bishop was in the Church at the time, and his diary notes: 'Did not assist in the celebration because of ——'s eccentricities.'

August 1, 1868.

I thank you for receiving so kindly what I said, that you were glad that I named it. Now, I do not for a moment question the full right of a layman—especially one like you, a sound, intelligent, active, well-informed layman—to use his influence against both the chance of Ritualism and the ten-

dency of the clergy (some, I mean, of them) to take on themselves the right to alter old-established things according to their fancy. But I cannot but believe that to withdraw from the Holy Communion from dislike to the things and to the man is a sin, and may be most dangerous to your own soul. I feel, too, that it may be most injurious to the parish. I quite see all the peculiar provocations which attend ——'s course; but all this only makes me the more anxious about you, because all this tends to stir up your own sense of injustice, and to provoke you against the man, and it is so very easy to mistake gratifying this personal feeling for standing up for a principle. Now I have said my say, and I know for our old love's sake you will forgive me.

In the course of this biography several different instances have been given of the Bishop's Diocesan management, by letters taken from the copying-books. Those here selected are typical of the way in which the Bishop handled two of the most delicate questions of diocesan administration.

Both the clergymen to whom these letters were addressed had estranged their parishioners from them, one by systematic careless neglect of his duty, the other by the introduction of ritual observances before he had won the confidence of his people. The difference will be readily perceived in the Bishop's tone towards the one who had erred from excess of zeal.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

Lavington, August 15, 1868.

My dear Sir,—I have waited a few days before I replied to your letter of the 8th, in order that I might correct by reflection any first wrong impression. I know too well my own deficiencies not to be very reluctant to find fault with any of my brethren in the ministry; and I know by eighteen years' experience as a parish priest so many of the parish priest's *difficulties* that I am always more ready to encourage than to spurn.

But I cannot reply honestly to your letter without saying what it is painful to me to utter, and I fear must be painful to you to read. The picture you draw of your parish is indeed melancholy—the want of all lay co-operation, the inability to get your church restored, the dying out even of your school, the presence of a total stagnation. You ask me to advise you how to act. Now, to make such advice in any degree useful it must be based on a knowledge of the causes of your difficulties. Now, in searching for these causes I cannot overlook the fact that this stagnation of all things and want of lay sympathy is a rare and exceptional thing in my diocese, and further, that even in your own parish under the care of the present rector of ——, everything was beginning to look different. These reflections force on me the question, is there in the ministry at —— any reason for this peculiarity of failure? Now, I am grieved to say it, but I cannot doubt that there is. There is, in my judgment, a sad and serious lack of affectionate earnestness and care for souls in the whole conduct of your ministry at ——. I hear of you as almost always from home, returning only for the Sunday duty, and frequently not even for that, casting that duty on neighbour after neighbour until they are weary of doing your duty. This course is quite incompatible with your gaining influence with your people, and at once explains to me all the difficulties which you experience and others escape. Then as to the school, I think your removing it from the convenient neighbourhood of the church and parsonage to its present inconvenient distance from both and from a great part of the population accounts for its decrease from 70 to 30 children, and to its being in a condition which I have no doubt fully justified the condemnation of H. M.'s Inspector. My advice, then, my dear sir, must go to the root of the matter. Show the people that you have a pastor's heart, and I do not think they will be long in giving you the natural return, the support of the parish. I cannot tell you how earnestly I long for such a change in your ministry in its fundamental character. I see not the love of Christ, I see not the love of souls, I see not faith in your Master's presence in it. Your ministry looks to me like the stinted unwilling service of

that fearful character; the mere professional priest. God knows if this is so. I speak but of the aspect which outwardly your ministry wears. My *advice* for which you ask is: PRAY—Pray for more thorough conversion of heart—pray for ministerial zeal—pray for love to Christ. Pray for the outpouring of the Spirit on your own soul and on your ministry, and then live in your parish, live for your parish, work in it as a man only can work who has come to his work from intercession for his people. Do this, and all improvements will, I have no doubt, follow; and at all events you will be ready to render up your account with joy, and not with sorrow. I am, most truly yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

Coed Coch, October 26, 1868.

My dear Mr. ——,—I cannot tell you—for I have repeatedly shown you—how earnest has been my wish to help you. I placed you at P——, risking the annoyance my placing you there, if you were not more prudent than at A——, must cause me, because, being convinced of your zeal and feeling deeply for your needs, I determined to give you a new trial. It is a very deep disappointment to me that you have so greatly failed to win the confidence of your flock. The points of complaint I chiefly hear of are these:—

I. That your temper is very little under restraint.

II. That you seem to have very little understanding of your people, and therefore most uselessly offend them; *e. g.* that you have set about teaching them to bow to the holy table—a foolish thing in almost any place, and most unwise in such a place as P——; again, that you have offended their prejudices by the use of tawdry flags, &c., in decorations.

III. That instead of your preaching prominently forward Christ and His salvation, or even Scripture subjects, you preach on mere ecclesiastical subjects; quote Fathers and POPES when they want God's Word and the milk of the Gospel—nay, that beyond this, you have preached against the Reformation.

IV. Then I hear that instead of heartily seeking reconciliation with the farmers and others who have taken offence, you keep them at arm's length. Now, will you at once and heartily on my advice alter all this? It will be impossible for me to retain you at P——, unless by such alterations you can gain the confidence and affection of your flock. For great as is my feeling for you, the souls of the people must have my first thought. And yet, if you are forced to leave P——, what can I do for you? How could I place you elsewhere or recommend you for another post with no hope but of your repeating elsewhere these sad mistakes?

I write to you now not in complaint, not wanting any reply, but simply out of mere kindly interest in you and your family, and in the hope that you may yet so amend your parish administration that, with the goodwill of your parishioners generally, I may be able to continue you in your charge. I am most truly yours,

S. OXON.

The next diary entry shows the beginning of the last great sorrow the Bishop was called upon to endure: the secession to Rome of his only daughter. The loss of his brother Robert, great as that was, was nothing as compared with this. For years the Bishop had feared this loss, and the recurrence in his diary, after a visit to or from his daughter, of such lines as, 'Henry more Protestant than ever,' show how eagerly he caught at any hope that the catastrophe might be averted. Although, as the diary entry shows, the end was certain, yet the actual secession did not take place for some two months. In September, Archbishop Longley was taken seriously ill, and in October he died. For some days before his death it was well known that the Archbishop could not, in all human probability, recover. And it was a singular coincidence, that the announcement of Mr. and Mrs. Pye's secession to Rome appeared in some papers, notably in 'The

Guardian,' in juxtaposition with the death of the Archbishop.

Painful as indeed it must be to withdraw the veil which overshadows this mournful episode, yet, unless it is done, the Bishop's life would be incomplete. The diary and letters reveal, better than anything else could do, how grievously this fresh sorrow weighed upon the Bishop's already stricken heart.

August 29.—Lavington. Early. Wrote. Church. Wrote again; a good deal of diocesan business after. At luncheon a terrible letter from H. Pye, which almost stunned me. He is going over, after all, to Rome, and, of course, my poor E——. For years I have prayed incessantly against this last act of his, and now it seems denied me. It seems as if my heart would break at this insult out of my own bosom to God's truth in England's Church, and preference for the vile harlotry of the Papacy. God forgive them. I have struggled on my knees against feelings of wrath against him in a long, long weeping cry to God. May He judge between this wrong-doer and me! Dear Claughton, all kind love and sympathy; so my dear Reginald.

August 30 (Sunday).—Woke over and over again with a sore heart, yet God, in His mercy, gave some sleep, and at the Holy Communion to-day I could more leave *all* to Him. He is 'taking me aside from the multitude,' indeed. Oh, that it may be to open my mouth with power against the villanies of the Papacy! Dear Claughton preached an admirable sermon on Praise—on the ten lepers. The sin, not being without feelings of thankfulness, but not going back to praise. On the Hill in afternoon.

August 31.—Bishop of Rochester, Mrs. Claughton, and Kitty went. I rode on Hill. Ernest and F—— came. Somewhat soothed by the presence of these beloved ones, but *inhæret lateri lethalis arundo.*

October 23.—(Bangor). Up betimes. A letter from Ernest tells me H—— and E—— have joined the debased communion. Utterly crushed. Tried to find refuge in prayer. All sorts of temptations in the great darkness. I have prayed against

this daily, and oftentimes a day, for years. I have laboured; spent myself, in public and in private; and it is come. Lord have mercy upon them and forgive them; forgive this wilfulness, and let it not be the loss of their souls, too. I hardly yet see it in all its bearings only that bonds and afflictions abide me.

October 24.—Early church. Wrote a good deal. The Gladstones came by luncheon. The morning wet, but cleared. A good walk in the afternoon with Gladstone, Sir Stephen, and Prevost. Gladstone noble as ever. A pain at my heart by night and by day for beloved E—— and for H——.

October 25.—Woke early, and very low, having woke continually since 2.30, and ever the pain in my heart for E——. My head worn; could hardly sit down to a sermon, but after prayer seemed helped. Prepared sermon on the disciple seeing Jesus praying, and asking, 'Teach us,' &c. Afternoon one or two letters, and read the 'Chapter of an Autobiography.' Shows the clearness of Gladstone's mind. Recommend not publishing till after the election. Evening, church. Dear Prevost preached a most unpretending but, to me, moving sermon on the love of Christ to His people. I hope I may be the better for it.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

October 23, 1868.

My very dear old Friend,—The great fear which for many years has every now and then haunted me, but which has been less of late, has at last fallen on me in its full completeness. H. Pye has become a Papist, and taken over my daughter with him. It is worse with me than even my apprehensions foretold. I am utterly prostrated. The insult to our Church from one so near to us, the reproaches I shall have personally to bear from those who little know how I have striven, guarded, and prayed against this in all its most distant approaches, the separation from my child, and the fear for their souls, all together press upon me more heavily than I am well able to bear. It has been a comfort to me to have my

dear old friend Prevost with me at the moment, for I only heard it yesterday, and Ernest's letters have soothed me greatly; but still there is the settled pain at the heart and the night hauntings. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. E. R. Wilberforce.

The Palace, Bangor, N. Wales, Oct. 24 [1868].

My dearest Ernest,—Your letter was the first announcement, nor have I yet heard (or wish to hear) from either of them. I feel as a man may feel who has fallen down a precipice and is lying smashed. I am utterly prostrated in mind and body, but, God helping me, I will not yield. I have found some rest in prayer, and your dear just words are a support.

I have to go out now and speak for S.P.G. I should like to ask them all instead to weep with me. But I believe that work is my best help after prayer. It was so in 1841, and even with the bitterness of woe not from God's hand direct, but from man's wilfulness, so it will be. I have thought much of your loving proposal that I should come and weep with you. But I believe I had better keep straight on through all I had previously planned, unless I absolutely break down, then I will get into a train and come. But (1) nothing will more stir the enemy and proclaim the evil than my seeming to yield. (2) All would have to be explained to everyone if I break engagements. (3) This is a life's cross, and if I stop once it will be for ever. (4) I have no *right*, whilst I can hold on, to break engagements with others. I seem to see no future in this matter. I do not see how I am ever to have them to my house except when I am dying.[3] The reason against Henry's coming equally excludes them. But I shall make no hasty resolution. God bless you, dear ones. I am your ever loving father,

S. OXON.

Hawarden Castle.

P.S.—I have got through the S.P.G. meeting better than I dared hope, and come on here, where I have met dearest

[3] By his house, the Bishop meant his Episcopal residence at Cuddesdon, not his private residence at Lavington, in which latter house his brother Henry was frequently a guest after he had joined the Roman communion.

Prevost, to whom I could open my heart, and that has been some relief, but there is the settled heart-pang I know too well. There are only Sir Stephen, Prevost, and Agnes here now.

Hawarden Castle, Chester, Oct. 24, 1868.

My dearest Ernest,—Many thanks for your dear letter. Your letters always cheer me as much as anything can. I have got this morning, as you will see, two letters from Henry; keep them and my answer for me. I do not know what to say about myself. I have that settled pain at my heart which never changes. I slept a good deal, waking every hour after the first three with that pain, but going again to sleep. I tell you all this not of egotism, but because you so lovingly ask it. I do not feel to care about anything; everything has lost its interest. I know by experience that if I am brave, and go on, by degrees life, if I live, will resume its powers. I was up early, and walked with dear Prevost to early church. Gladstone comes back to-day. It feels almost a pain meeting him. The Irish Church difference was of itself bad enough, and now this uncommunicated load adds to the heaviness. The wet day, the sighing wind, the falling rotting leaves, the heavy drifting clouds, all seem in unison. It is, too, so difficult to guard my spirit from anger and impatience. The whole thing lies so clearly before me that I am for ever needing to discipline my spirit not to feel unkindly to one who has robbed me of my only daughter in blood and brought reproach on the Church I have, however imperfectly, ever endeavoured to serve. As to the Papistry itself, I only more than ever see it to be the great Cloaca into which all vile corruptions of Christianity run naturally, and loathe it. . . . I am ever your most affectionate father,

S. OXON.

October 31.—Into Liverpool after breakfast, and about the docks. Ships lading and unlading for all the world—very much interested. The Mersey, too, beautiful with its full cohort of vessels—steam, sail, and tug—I kept looking up the Mersey towards Blackpool,[4] as if I could see H—— and E——

[4] The place where Mr. and Mrs. Pye were received into the Roman communion.

bartering away their birthright of Gospel freedom and Church truth. Alas!

The same day the Bishop thus writes to his son Ernest:—

I am, thank God, already feeling the help which He gives to prayer and work, but it rather drives me to work to keep my thoughts in order.

You may see a review of mine in yesterday's 'Times' on the poems of Messrs. Cautley and Brodrick called the 'Afterglow'; and the review on Hook's book is in the 'Quarterly,'[5] and I have been setting myself to write on Elijah for 'Good Words.' I shall have work enough to-morrow, for they have put me to preach two sermons instead of one, which is all I undertook. I have been this morning all over the Liverpool docks with Robertson Gladstone, *very* interesting. I went over several ships, and the Mersey was quite full of vessels. Such scenes fill the mind with thoughts of Tyre and England, and evermore my thoughts kept wandering as I looked up the Mersey up to Blackpool and our domestic tragedy there.

November 1.—Up early and prepared sermons with much difficulty. Heart hard and thoughts greatly disturbed, but after hard struggle succeeded. Large congregation, wrote, &c., and down to Liverpool for evening service; great crowd; preached a wholly unwritten sermon with more comfort than morning.

November 2.—After breakfast to Liverpool. Tobacco stores very curious; the vast mass, from all parts of the earth, in different packages, barely a year's consumption. Then vaults, &c. The street full of workmen cheering, back and early dinner and meeting at Philharmonic successful, home tired and bed.

November 3.—Early breakfast and off; wrote letters in train to Normanton, then Sir H. Edwards, &c. To Hull, where Admiral Duncombe and Dean; walked to the docks; quite different from Liverpool, and inferior vessels. Dined Railroad

[5] *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by Dean Hook.

Hotel. Meeting in rifle drill-sheds, between 2,000 and 3,000, for ragged schools, successful. Special train to Pocklington and so to Kilnwick.

The impending general election caused Mr. Disraeli to write to the Bishop. He says :—

In the great struggle in which I am embarked, it is a matter of great mortification to me that I am daily crossed, and generally opposed, by the High Church party. Only think of Dean Hook opposing Henry Lennox at Chichester.

The Bishop's reply points out one of the principal reasons which led the Church party to regard Mr. Disraeli's administration with suspicion :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. B. Disraeli.

September 11, 1868.

My dear Mr. Disraeli,—I have received your letter of the 9th to-day, and by this post. I am grieved at what you say as to the attitude of the Church party with regard to the Government. I am utterly astonished at what you tell me of Dr. Hook's conduct; when he last spoke to me on the Chichester election he was warmly for the house of Richmond.

There *is* a small ultra party who look with hope to disestablishment, but they are almost as politically powerless as the Evangelicals. The vast body of sound Churchmen are entirely with you on the great question of the day.[6] But I should not tell you all that I believe to be the truth if I did not add that there is at this moment a jealous and an alarmed watchfulness of your administration of Church patronage—men who through the long period of Palmerston's administration held their fidelity in the barrenness of an ostracised position are soured by seeing or thinking they see those who, by steadfastness of principle and quietness of action, have the greatest influence amongst Churchmen passed over for unknown men or men of the long-patronised minority.

[6] The Irish Church.

I had an earnest entreaty lately from the diocese of Peterborough that I would bring this matter before you, with the assurance from laymen and clergy that the character of the appointment to that see would determine two seats. I declined troubling you on the matter, but I do not like to be silent now that you have spoken. I believe that there is great danger of your losing the hearty support of the great body of the Church party unless they see the men who represent them adopted by your administration.

In September the Bishop went to Ireland for the Church Congress, at which he was the only representative of the English Episcopate. During his stay he was the guest of his old friend, Archbishop Trench.

September 27.—With Archbishop to Archdeacon Lee's church. The congregation poor; a very small attendance at Communion. Afternoon with Archbishop to Cathedral of St. Patrick's; great congregation; he preached an excellent and characteristic sermon.

September 28.—Morning undisturbed. Finished and sent off review on Hook's 'Cranmer,' and wrote many letters. A large dinner party, and all well arranged and handsome without any display; Archbishop and Mrs. Beresford, many Bishops, Nelson, &c., Lord Talbot of Malahide and daughter.

September 29.—The Congress began with service in St. Patrick's; admirable sermon from Dean of Cork, of which Bishop of Cork said, 'It was an admirably arranged and delivered sermon, clever, eloquent, argumentative, illustrative, and had not in it Gospel enough to save a tomtit!' Very large Communion. Then Congress, and large evening party at palace.

September 30.—Congress all day; after it, at 3, I and Lord Nelson and Lady Alice and Rose Trench went to Howth and all round it—beautiful. At 5, good Shaw Stewart came and wrote for and with me till dinner, so that I got through many letters. A large dinner party again. Conversazione evening.

The Bishop's diary here records one or two stories, such as, 'Archbishop Trench told me that once, when

he was asked for alms in the street, he said, "I never give to a beggar in the street." The man looked at him, and replied, "Sure, your Reverence, and where would you bid me wait upon you?"' Another story is of Bishop Phillpotts. A clergyman came to him one day, wishing to renew a lease. The Bishop named the sum he would accept as the fine for renewal, which the applicant thought too large, and declined. The Bishop kept him to luncheon, and, before leaving, the man changed his mind, and said: 'I have been thinking over this, and we must give the sum rather than endanger the lease.'

The Bishop: 'I thought when you came to consider it, you would view it in that light.'

'Well, your lordship has certainly got the lion's share.'

'Really—but I am quite sure, Mr. ——, you would not have me have that of the other creature!'

From Dublin the Bishop writes to his son Ernest:—

I send one line to say that the Congress is going on very well, and must do a great deal of good here. The tone of the Irish Church seems to me to have risen wonderfully since I was in Ireland a few years ago. I preached last night to some 5,000 in St. Patrick's Cathedral. I was very much tired, but, D.G., am all right to-day.

October 3.—Wrote all the morning. At 1, lunched with Hope. Lady Mildred ill, and their coming to Armagh delayed. To Armagh. Dr. Reeves lionising, and very good company. To palace at 6.30; very kindly received, but, as usual in a new place, very low indeed.

From Armagh, on October 4, the Bishop again writes to his son Ernest:—

I am wonderfully cheered by your dear letter of October 2 received this morning. I came here last night, and it seems strange and lonely, and away from all. At Dublin, being

with the Trenchs had a great savour of home, and I felt close to the sea and near you all; but this early Sunday morning, I feel in the land that is very far away, so I thank you doubly for your dear letter.

I think the Congress showed far more strength in the body than I knew it possessed, and certainly the rise in its tone in Church matters even since I was here is very remarkable. I have not yet had any holiday. Up early for morning Communion, writing letters, &c., at every spare moment, and watching and speaking at the sections, has been rather hard work. I expect now a little rest.

October 9.—Beautiful morning. Walked along lake, and after luncheon drove to Antrim and Randal's Tower, a very fine place and great beauty. Lord O'Neil simple, humble and unpretending as if still a country curate—God honoured in the family, and so all happy.

October 10.—After breakfast with Bishop of Derry and Mrs. Alexander to Sir Harvey Bruce's. Sea most beautiful, long rollers breaking on traprock. Wonderful section of chalk overlaid by basalt. As we coasted towards Londonderry, where, after luncheon and walk in glen, again on cliff, from whence Bishop and I dislodged cormorants—nothing between us and North Pole. Met the Hopes in train, and hospitably lodged together at Bishop's at Derry.

October 11 (Sunday).—Early Communion, and then I preached sermon on 'Alabaster Box' for S.P.G.; large congregation, and very attentive, good collection, 42*l.*—35*l.* last year with Selwyn. Early dinner, which gave me hideous indigestion. N.B.—NOT to eat at that time again. Walked round walls with Hopes and Mrs. Alexander. The Bishop's sermon at night—Joshua possessing the land—a little disappointed me, though good and eloquent bits.

October 20.—Wrote a good deal. Walked with Archbishop and Mrs. Trench. Off for Dublin. Sea dark and threatening. Went on board at 7, in rain—a very tossing rolling night, but—I believe, mainly through champagne—escaped actual sickness, and by 12.30 at Penrhos. All ready for me. How kind people are! Reflection of God's goodness.

October 28.—After breakfast off for Holywell, where meeting for S.P.G.; many men; I spoke with interest, though so low I could hardly bring myself to begin. A very bad account of the dear Archbishop—I think, dying. On to Knowsley, where Lord and Lady Chelmsford and Miss Thesiger, Col. Wilbraham and daughter, &c. Lord Derby in bed. Chelmsford: 'The old Government the Derby, this the Hoax.'

October 29.—Knowsley. Early. Office. News of dear Archbishop's death. Alas! alas! how hard to serve under another after these six years with him. Wrote letters all the morning for 3½ hours. Walked with Lord Chesham and Col. Wilbraham about the park. Many red deer. Great storm of wind and hail, &c. Sat 1¼ hour talking with Lord Derby in his bed. Very keen. 'What will the Whigs not swallow?' 'Disraeli very sanguine still about the elections.' He said he was very glad he had not the responsibility of appointing the Archbishop—had always felt how difficult it would be. He said 'Jack Campbell, during a trial, was reading some French evidence.' Blackburn said, 'How he murders it.' Lord Chelmsford: 'No, he is only scotching it.'

The same day the Bishop writes to his son Ernest:—

Nothing can be kinder than they are here. How very kind so many are to me. Since I wrote this I have had a talk with Lord Derby in his bed; very interesting on politics, &c. I am so grieved to have lost the good Archbishop. It will make the greatest possible difference to me, as I cannot conceive any other acting in the same loving hearty way he did with me.

From the last entry in the diary, and from the letter which follows it, it is abundantly clear that the Bishop had no expectation of succeeding to the Archbishopric. This is further borne out by a sentence taken from a letter, written the same day, to Sir Charles Anderson: 'That fear I spoke to you of lest he should injure his election cry is so likely to prevent

Disraeli, in this, doing what, from his convictions, would be his own course. A day or two after the Bishop thus writes to his dear friend Bishop Hamilton:—'It is, indeed, time for prayer. I am daily praying that we may have in mercy *the* right man, not in judgment another——. It can hardly be that under any possible Archbishop I can act as I have done for the last six years, so that I feel *shelved* as to the general work of the Church.' It is curious, with the impressions of Churchmen's unpopularity, that the workmen yesterday at Liverpool, turned out, filled the street and welcomed me with the heartiest cheers.'[7]

What others thought is evidenced by a letter from Dean Hook to Sir Charles Anderson:—

The Dean of Chichester to Sir Charles Anderson.

The Deanery, Chichester, Oct. 30, 1868.

My dear Sir Charles,—Oxford for Canterbury. Do write to me, and say whether we can do anything. He may refuse the place, but it *ought* to be offered to him. It is his due from the Church, and, if offered, for the Church's sake he ought to accept it, though, if he does accept, I doubt whether he will die in his bed. I expect a fearful persecution of the clergy. I am under the deepest obligations to our dear Bishop, and if you will tell me what I (who have for ten years retired from the world) can do, I will attempt it. My wife, like yours, is on a sick bed and never likely to be again robust. We shall sometimes pray for you, and in your prayers let us not be forgotten. Yours affectionately,

W. F. HOOK.

The Bishop presumed that Mr. Disraeli's convictions were those which are expressed in this letter:—

[7] Page 259.

The Right Hon. B. Disraeli to the Bishop of Oxford.

Balmoral Castle, September 28, 1868.

My dear Lord,—Since we separated in Bond Street I have not had a moment, or I should have noticed before this Dean Hook's letter.[8]

I read it with great pain. It seemed to me so violent, and written in such complete ignorance of the times and what is happening. It is the spirit of a provincial Laud.

Notwithstanding the fine sentiments in which it is very easy to indulge for those who are not responsible, it is all over with the Church of England if she be disconnected with the State.

Even the Roman Catholic Church without Rome would be weakened.

I think the chief Minister of this country, if he be ignorant of the bent of the national feeling at a crisis, must be an idiot. His means of arriving at the truth are so multifarious. Now certainly I hold that the long pent-up feeling of this nation against ultra-Ritualism will pronounce itself at the impending election. The feeling has been long accumulating; its repression might have been retarded; circumstances have brought an unexpected opportunity, and what I presumed to foretell at one of our Church meetings, some years ago in Bucks, has come to pass. The questions of labour and liberty are settled, the rise of religious questions may be anticipated in an eminently religious people, undisturbed in their industry and secure in their freedom.

It will be a Protestant Parliament, though it may not be a Church Parliament.

But there can be no doubt that every wise man on our side should attract the Protestant feeling, as much as practicable, to the Church of England.

It has been diverted from the Church of England in Scotland. There, the Protestant feeling is absolutely enlisted against us. If we let it escape from us in England, all is over.

It appears to me that if we act in the spirit of the Dean of Chichester, we may all live to see the great Church of Eng-

[8] The letter referred to by Mr. Disraeli was a published one.

land subside into an Episcopalian sect. I will struggle against this with my utmost energy.

I have delayed writing to you several days because I wanted to get a quiet half-hour; and there is not a sentence in this in which I have not been interrupted. Carrying on the government of a country six hundred miles from the metropolis doubles the labour. The stream of telegrams and boxes is really appalling. Nevertheless, though I have only partially conveyed my feelings, I think it best to send it for what it is worth. Yours sincerely,

D.

November 12.—Blenheim. After breakfast, I to Culham for prize-giving, &c. Mowbray there, redolent with joy. Good clerical gathering. Laity mostly about elections. Evening to Blenheim. Lady Churchill heard from Mrs. Wellesley that Bishop of London goes to Canterbury.

November 13.—Wrote a good deal. Walked with Lord Churchill round park. The Duke told me of Disraeli's excitement when he came out of Royal Closet. Some struggle about the Primacy. Lord Malmesbury also said that when he spoke to Disraeli he said, 'Don't bring any more bothers before me; I have enough already to drive a man mad.' My belief is that the Queen pressed Tait, and against possibly Ely, or some such appointment.

November 15.—Up by early train. At lodgings found a nice letter from the Bishop of London, announcing his acceptance of Canterbury. The consecration (Bishop of Peterborough). The Archbishop of York chagrined manifestly. Good sermon. Went to London House, and cordial talk with Bishop and Catherine; they earnestly desiring me to succeed.

November 19.—After breakfast to London for Ritual Commission. Bishop of Gloucester very fierce about ecclesiastical appointments, especially as to Lincoln for London. Walpole also. I think general. Bishop of London [Tait] very strong. I trying to discipline myself, but feeling the 'affront,' as dear Randall said.

November 28.—Henley. Service in parish church; and then consecrated the additional burial-ground and chapel.

Preached on 'I am the Resurrection and the Life,' with much interest; many in tears. Then back to Rectory, and by rail to Windsor, to House of Mercy, and confirmed in the Chapel. Then to Deanery. Dean of St. Paul's, General Seymour dined. Mrs. Wellesley to Castle. Dean of St. Paul's to bed. Much talk with Dean of Windsor. *He* talked with great reserve about the late appointments, but said, 'The Church does not know what it owes to the Queen. Disraeli has been utterly ignorant, utterly unprincipled: he rode the Protestant horse one day; then got frightened that it had gone too far, and was injuring the county elections, so he went right round and proposed names never heard of. Nothing he would not have done; but throughout he was most hostile to you; he alone prevented London being offered to you. The Queen looked for Tait, but would have agreed to you.'

It seems evident from this last diary entry, that had there not been a strong personal antagonistic feeling on the part of Mr. Disraeli towards the Bishop, the See of London, which nearly all the newspapers had assigned to him, would have been offered. Mr. Disraeli had good grounds for this personal antagonism: the part the Bishop had taken in connection with Mr. Gladstone's candidature for the University of Oxford would sufficiently account for this feeling. Yet Mr. Disraeli's letters to the Bishop already quoted seem to show that on public grounds Mr. Disraeli would have recognised the fact that Bishop Wilberforce was pre-eminently the man best fitted for the See of London. From papers extant it is abundantly clear that it was not on any personal grounds that Mr. Disraeli did not name the Bishop for London. Mr. Disraeli was before all things a politician. The general election on which his Ministry depended was in progress; Bishop Wilberforce was represented to him by one who knew better as an extreme High Churchman, whose appointment to

London would estrange many votes from the Conservative party, and this fear was, it is clear, worked on by others from motives which it is hard to believe to have been wholly disinterested.

The conversation with Dean Wellesley thus continues :—

'Disraeli recommended —— for Canterbury ! ! ! — the Queen would not have him ; then Disraeli agreed most reluctantly and with passion to Tait. Disraeli then proposed Wordsworth for London. The Queen objected strongly ; no experience ; passing over bishops, &c. ; then she suggested Jackson, and two others, not you, because of Disraeli's expressed hostility, and Disraeli chose Jackson.

* * * * * *

'How can —— have got that secret understanding with Disraeli ? You are surrounded by false double-dealing men. Disraeli opposed Leighton with all his strength on every separate occasion. The Queen would have greatly liked him, but Disraeli would not hear of him. You cannot conceive the appointments he proposed and retracted or was overruled ; he pressed Champneys for Peterborough ; he had no other thought than the votes of the moment ; he showed an ignorance about all Church matters, men, opinions, that was astonishing, making propositions one way and the other, riding the Protestant horse to gain the boroughs, and then, when he thought he had gone so far as to endanger the counties, turning round and appointing Bright and Gregory ; thoroughly unprincipled fellow. I trust we may never have such a man again.'

The next two letters refer to the recent appointments :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

November 16, 1868.

My dearest Anderson,—I very much enjoyed your letter and the account of the ploughing match. I hear from everyone that you are the most popular man in Lincolnshire. So

Disraeli has done exactly as I expected with his Church preferments. The appointment of Canterbury was, I believe, pressed on him by the Queen. But Lincoln to London is all his own to please the 'Record.'[9] Wordsworth, I have no doubt, will do exceedingly well. Tait was quite heartily warm about my succeeding him. I am afraid my dear children and friends will be disappointed. For myself, I really thank God; it very little disturbs me. I in my reason apprehend that by the common rule in such matters I had no right to be so treated; but I am really thankful in feeling so cool about it. I am going down now as I write to consecrate a little church close to Ashdown, and on Wednesday I mean to go through London to Lord Salisbury's for a few days. I am ever your affectionate old friend,

S. OXON.

November 20.—(Hatfield.) Wrote a great deal. Then Confirmation. Rode with Lord Salisbury. His high-minded views. He said he would not oppose Gladstone as a Minister, but only on any particular measure on which he differed.

Writing from Danbury, where the Bishop was the guest of his old friend the Bishop of Rochester, a few days later, he refers, among other things, to the visit he had paid at Hatfield.

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Danbury, November 26, 1868.

My dearest Anderson,—Many thanks for your letter. You will have seen Gladstone's failure.[1] I am sorry for it. Of course it makes no real difference whatever in the result, but it aggravates division where I want to see concord; for I have infinitely more sympathy (in spite of difference as to the Irish Church) with his views concerning the Church than with those of the snuffling Puritan clique which believes only in the

[9] In a leading article published in August, the *Record* made the extraordinary statement that Mr. Disraeli was 'only the tool of the Bishop of Oxford, a prelate who knows less of the real state of the Church of England than almost any other prelate on the bench, the Archbishop of Canterbury only excepted.'

[1] For South-West Lancashire.

lion and the unicorn, and anoints them with sour stuff. I think we are in a bad way. I am very glad to have Ernest and F—— here: I do not know whether you heard of his accident last Friday. It was touch and go. For another half-inch would have killed him on the spot. As it is he is quite crippled for the time.[2] This is a very nice place; grand old oaks of an immeasurable age. Lewis Owen is with us, having come to vote to-morrow for the Tory candidates. I particularly enjoyed my Hatfield visit. The house is perfect, and the park very striking of its kind. But the great pleasure was the inmates, as hearty and kind as possible, and he full of high patriotic views. Bob Lowe was with us two days, and it was enough to make the flesh creep to hear his prognostications for the future of England. My best love to all yours. I am, my dearest Anderson, your most affectionate

S. OXON.

December 11, the Bishop was again the guest of Lord Salisbury at Hatfield, where he met Mr. Gladstone. The diary for the day thus mentions Mr. Gladstone:—

Gladstone as ever; great, earnest, and honest; as unlike the tricky Disraeli as possible.

December 12.—Morning walk with Gladstone, Cardwell, and Salisbury. Gladstone how struck with Salisbury: 'Never saw a more perfect host.' On to Reading, where S.P.G. meeting, and thence to Englefield.

The same day the Bishop writes to his son Ernest:—

Hatfield, Dec. 12, 1868.

I have very much enjoyed meeting Gladstone. He is so delightfully true and the same; just as full of interest in every good thing of every kind, and so exactly the opposite of the mystery man .... When people talk of Gladstone going mad, they do not take into account the wonderful elasticity of his

[2] A bough of a tree fell on his back.

mind and the variety of his interests. Now, this morning (I am writing in the train on my way to London), after breakfast, he and Salisbury and I and Cardwell had a walk round this beautiful park, and he was just as much interested in the size of the oaks, their probable age, &c., as if no care of state ever pressed upon him. This is his safeguard, joined to entire rectitude of purpose and clearness of view. He is now writing opposite to me in the railway carriage, on his way to Windsor Castle.

The next letter also gives an account of the Hatfield visit :—

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Englefield House, December 15.

I enjoyed meeting Gladstone again very much. In presence he always impresses me, as I know he does you, with the sense of his perfect honesty and noble principles. I never saw him pleasanter, calmer, or more ready to enter freely into everything. We, *i.e.* he, Cardwell, Lord Salisbury, and myself, had a walk about the park, and he took as much interest in the trees as if he had nothing else to think about. He remarked to me on the great power of charming and pleasant host-ing possessed by Salisbury. All that he did say on public affairs was what we could wish, barring the one subject of the Irish Church. I think that he will hold his own. I do not believe the excitement and temper, &c. &c., which people talk about. He is far more in earnest than most people, and therefore they revenge themselves by saying that he loses his temper. I am going to-morrow to London to receive the freedom of the Salters' Company, a very grand affair, and I go on to Cuddesdon for the Ordination. I am most truly, your very affectionate,

S. OXON.

This mention of the Salters' Company recalls the following anecdote. At the time when Miss Burdett-Coutts was much occupied about the Columbia market, she happened to be driving the Bishop into the City ; in

the course of the drive the conversation turned on the origin of the designations of the various City companies. 'I daresay, Bishop,' Miss Coutts said, 'you do not know the meaning of a Dry Salter?' 'Oh yes,' was the ready answer, 'I do. TATE AND BRADY.'

CHAPTER X.

(1868–1869.)

THE IRISH CHURCH—CONSERVATIVE POLICY—THE BISHOP IN 1868—THE GENERAL ELECTION—THE BISHOP'S ADVICE AFTER THE ELECTIONS—LETTER TO ARCHBISHOP TRENCH—MEETINGS OF THE BISHOPS—IMPORTANT DISCUSSION—THE BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—THE BISHOP'S SPEECH—LETTER TO MR. MAJENDIE—EXPLANATION AND VINDICATION OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MEASURE.

FOR many years the question of the Irish Church had occupied the attention of most thoughtful men. It had been evident that this was a matter the settlement of which could not long be delayed. It is therefore not surprising to find that Mr. Disraeli, who, on the resignation of Lord Derby in February 1868, became Prime Minister, should have turned his attention to this important and pressing matter, rendered, as it was, more pressing on account of the Fenian conspiracy and the general tone of discontent in that country. On April 18, 1868, Archbishop Trench writes to the Bishop, saying :—

I have no doubt but that the outline of the policy which presents itself most to thoughtful Churchmen here is, not to accept what evidently will be Disraeli's proposal, namely a starved and cut down Establishment, which will leave all causes of irritation existing still, which will entail on us all the weaknesses of an Establishment while giving us none of the compensating advantages,[1] and which, being a compromise resting on no intelligible principle, will inevitably cease to

[1] The Royal Commission on the Irish Church had recommended a reduction of the Irish Episcopate.

exist after a few years of weakness, poverty, and discredit. If you ask the policy which recommends itself here to the best and most earnest Churchmen—it is, first, to fight for everything which we possess, as believing it rightfully ours; recognising, of course, the right of Parliament to redistribute *within the Church* its revenues according to the changed necessities of the present time. If this battle is lost, then, totally rejecting the process of gradual starvation to which Disraeli would submit us, to go in for instant death at the hands of Gladstone.

This letter was written after Mr. Gladstone had given notice of his resolutions on the Irish Church and after Lord Stanley's proposed amendment.

Mr. Gladstone, having carried his resolutions, brought in a Suspensory Bill, which, though carried in the House of Commons, was thrown out by a large majority in the House of Lords. When the proposal for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was first made, the Bishop's course and duty appeared to him plain: it was simply, with all his might, to resist the proposal. He therefore heartily co-operated with others, and, both in the great meeting which was held in St. James's Hall, and in his place in Parliament, did his best to influence the public mind against it. He voted and spoke against the Suspensory Bill and entirely concurred in the determination of yielding nothing until the constituencies had been appealed to upon the whole question.

With reference to the speech in St. James's Hall, the late Mr. Philip Cazenove used to describe the conditions under which it had been composed.

Mr. Cazenove had been present at the luncheon which followed the opening of St. John's, Kennington, and the Bishop had been as usual the life of the company, speaking up to the last moment with his customary energy and eloquence.

The time having arrived for leaving for St. James's Hall, Mr. Cazenove offered the Bishop a seat in his carriage, which was accepted. The Bishop then explained that as he had had no time to think about his impending speech, he should be glad to be allowed not to talk. He leant back in the carriage, closed his eyes, and in the course of twenty minutes had thought out what, in the opinion of competent judges, was the most eloquent and forcible of many remarkable speeches which signalised a memorable occasion.

The General Election was held in November, and on the 20th the returns were so far complete as to enable the Bishop to write to Archbishop Trench that:—

> The returns to the House of Commons leave no doubt of the answer of the country to Gladstone's appeal. In a few weeks he will be in office, at the head of a majority of something like a hundred elected on the distinct issue of Gladstone and the Irish Church. The time seems, therefore, now absolutely come as to which we have so often spoken, when you and we should consider whether any and what compromise is possible. For the nation has practically decided on the main proposition and, even if Parliamentary tactics could purchase a delay, I see not the faintest reason to suppose they could win a reversal of the sentence, whilst that delay may commit men to extreme measures and rob us of the opportunity of saving something by a timely surrender of what cannot anyhow be kept.

The letter then goes on to suggest what might be gained. To this the Archbishop replied that he was aware that the battle of the elections had gone against them and that he regarded establishment as hopelessly and irrevocably gone; but he dissented from the Bishop's sketch of a proposed compromise and pleaded for delay, in the vain hope, as it afterwards proved, that, in carrying into effect the details of the Bill, some

of Mr. Gladstone's supporters, although they might vote with him for the second reading, yet might turn against him on some of the multifarious details which would have to be fought in committee; and that then, to get out of the difficulty, Mr. Gladstone would offer terms that could be accepted. Archbishop Trench failed to perceive that the Irish Church Bill must of necessity be framed with a reference to those who supported it and not to those who opposed it; and therefore, until Mr. Gladstone could be assured that those who had previously opposed the measure had signified that, since the decision of the nation, they had changed their opinions it was impossible for him to regard them in any other light than as declared opponents who consequently had no claim to be considered. The Bishop, who was well aware of this, then wrote a letter to Archbishop Trench, which he told him he might make use of in any private way he liked. That the Archbishop freely availed himself of this permission to show it to friends is evident by the much worn and tattered condition of the original.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Archbishop of Dublin.

Train to Goodwood, Dec. 30, 1868.

My dearest Archbishop,—I have thought much and long over your answer to my last letter, and the conviction deepens within me that you are in great danger of letting slip past you one of those golden opportunities which, when they are indeed past, never return.

You say 'that the time for offering any terms of compromise is not come: that it will be well to let Gladstone taste the various difficulties which beset the carrying out of his measure; and then, when he has experienced their weight, to offer him terms.'

Now, this would be wise if you were dealing with a minority, guided by a master of selfish cunning and unprincipled

trickery. Doubtless it would be the wise way to meet a mere mystery-man like Disraeli, who was trading upon the principles and ultimate existence of an honourable minority and had no real principle, but was ready to catch at any cry to gain a respite from defeat and was ready, in order to avoid a difficulty he could not meet, to sacrifice any man, party, purpose, principle, or Church ;—it would doubtless be best to let HIM entangle himself in his own web, and then make his sacrifice of everything for which he had professed to act the price of his extrication from his trouble. But your case is altogether different. You have in Gladstone a man of the highest and noblest principle, who has shown unmistakably that he is ready to sacrifice every personal aim for what he has set before himself as a high object. He is supported, not by a minority conscious of being a minority, but by a great and confident majority. The decision of the constituencies seems to me incapable of misapprehension or reversal. Has there ever yet been any measure, however opposed, which the English people have been unable for its difficulty to carry through, when they have determined to do so? Look at Negro Slavery, Protection, Parliamentary Reform, and a hundred other questions. They have resolved to carry your Disestablishment, and they know that they can and will carry it. Now, what can be gained by opposing and chafing such a body? You may frighten away a fox by an outcry; but you only wake up the strength and the fury of the lion. For reasons of the highest patriotism and not because they distrust their own strength, Gladstone and his party, from his influence, might now, to prevent the bitterness sure to be bred by a long struggle, yield all they can yield consistently with carrying what they believe justice and imperial interests to require. But every day's resistance makes it an object of less importance to purchase the remission of this resistance, because the evil will have been done to prevent which alone, and not from doubting their power, they would earlier have consented to buy it off. The multiplication of teasing difficulties in detail, where a majority guided by a thoroughly honest leader are convinced as to the principle, can lead only to the settlement being made at last by the sharpness and

violence of the sword, instead of, as once it might have been, its being peacefully adjusted.

The matter which seems to me determined is Disestablishment. Disendowment is far more a question of degree. Now, my own abstract view is wholly unaltered. I do not expect that your Disestablishment will remove any Irish dissatisfaction. I believe that it will be an injury to the Church and a far greater injury to the State. If I thought it possible to resist it successfully I would resist it still. But I think it impossible, and I never have met in the last two months any man of thought and capacity who appeared to me honestly to believe it to be possible. Some believe the measure may be resisted a little shorter, some a little longer time; but all are secretly convinced or are ready openly to avow their opinion that it is a question practically settled. Wholly unprincipled men like Disraeli are content to use religion, as they would any other precious thing, as an instrument of obtaining ever so short a tenure of place at the cost of ever so entire a sacrifice of that which they so use. But suppose, to take the most extreme case, that these tortuous and crooked devices brought Disraeli again into power, what would you gain? His whole idea is to use the Church to keep himself in office. Look at his whole management of these last elections and you will see that he has tried to use the No-Popery cry as a miserable party instrument, and has let it be directed against all the higher teaching and all the liberties of the Church of England, and all his own convictions, if he has any except those which centre in Benjamin Disraeli. If, then, he came into power, his first idea would be to get popularity by cutting down your Sees and reducing you to the lowest conceivable spiritual level, that he might gain favour with one party by your reduction, and with the other by maintaining an Establishment; whilst if this death by starvation was not, on trial, quick enough for his purpose, he would at once strangle you out of hand.

I therefore venture once more to implore you to consider whether the time is not come for you to say, 'The nation has decided against our Establishment and we bow to its decision. The question of what part of our income is to be left us, and

on what tenure and conditions it is to be held, remains confessedly open. We are ready to enter on it, and if what we must deem still our just rights are provided for and we are honourably and wisely started on our new career we shall 'do our best to aid in the settlement of a very difficult matter.' *I* think you might *claim* Churches, Glebe Houses, very many Glebes, all post-Reformation grants; and I should earnestly desire the Knight of Kerry's proposal to be applied to the rest of the property. But I feel sure you MUST claim the following:—(1) Entire freedom from State interference. (2) Your being constituted a corporation capable of self-government and of holding property. (3) That the satisfaction-money for vested rights should be in a common fund under common management, giving rights against that common fund to individuals only on condition of their discharging, to the satisfaction of the authorities of the new body, either (*a*) the duties in regard to the performance of which the vested interests arise, or (*b*) duties substituted for them with the assent of the new authorities of your body.

It is with me a question whether (4) it should be made a condition that you are in full communion with the English Reformed Church.

I should have great hopes, knowing the nobleness of him with whom as chief you have to deal, of a tolerably satisfactory result following *immediate* action on your parts in this direction. I cannot too earnestly press on you my own conviction that delay and vexatious resistance will bring the question into a state in which no such results can be hoped for. If you excite passion, resentment, and growing indignation amongst the *party* opposed to you, *its* leader will not be able to help you, whilst *your* leader has no higher idea than to prolong your life on the lowest possible scale of dependent existence, and to slay you the first hour it seems for his advantage to break all his own professions and sacrifice your being. I am, ever, affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

This semi-public letter shows that the Bishop had made up his mind as to the fruitlessness of fighting a hopeless battle to its bitter end. In his speech in the

House of Lords against the Suspensory Bill, he had argued that as a condition precedent to Disestablishment the nation ought to have declared in favour of such a course. This condition was now fulfilled: the nation had given its verdict. The issue had been fairly placed before it both by the Conservatives and the Liberals. Every hustings had rung with the subject. The Conservative party had gone to the contest with the 'Church in danger' as their election cry, and they had been defeated by a majority of over 100 votes, and this not by the old constituencies, but by the new, who were called into being by themselves, and whose verdict the Conservative Government may fairly be said to have accepted by resigning office without meeting Parliament.

The course the Bishop took on this matter was identical with that taken by the Duke of Wellington on the Romish disabilities in 1829, by Sir Robert Peel in 1833, and by the Conservative party in 1867 on the Reform Bill; all of whom accepted the decision of the nation on the principle which was at stake as final and irreversible, and did their best and utmost to minimise any excess in carrying into effect the verdict which they accepted. The terms the Bishop tried to induce the Irish Episcopate to accept had reference to Disendowment not Disestablishment. He could not and did not argue that clerical establishment was a vital and fundamental principle: the line he took even in 1853 on the Canada Clergy Reserves[2] is very significant. What he did hold and what he did fight for to the very end was, that endowments once given to the Church were the property of the Church and ought not to be alienated from that Church for any purpose whatever. This was a principle, and where a principle was at stake,

[2] Vol. ii. chap. 5.

which the Bishop held as such, he never in all his public career yielded one jot or attempted to compromise; the world will not forget his opposition to the Divorce Act,[8] an instance of fighting a matter out up to the last ditch. It must not, however, be imagined that the Bishop was in the least degree *converted*: his opinions as to Disestablishment were unchanged, but he accepted the position and endeavoured to induce the Irish Church to settle the whole question in a generous and friendly manner with Mr. Gladstone.

Among his Episcopal brethren Bishop Wilberforce was not alone in regarding the question of Disestablishment as settled. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol in a speech at Bristol publicly declared his adoption of this view, and from the report of the private discussions held by the Bishops which follows it will be seen that many both of the English and Irish Episcopate were in favour of recognising Disestablishment as inevitable and endeavouring to make the best terms they could as to Disendowment.

One other matter deserves mention as affording proof that the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee) who had only just come to England and who was above all men eminently capable of forming a correct judgment on the matter from an Irish point of view took the same view as Bishop Wilberforce.

In January Bishop Wilberforce wrote and corrected for press a pamphlet which was called the 'Answer of the Constituencies;' it was in the form of a letter to Lord Lyttelton which was in fact an amplification of the views enunciated in the already quoted letter to the Archbishop of Dublin. This pamphlet the Bishop sent to the Bishop of Peterborough, with a request that he would advise as to publication. The Bishop of Peter-

[8] Vol. ii. chap. 9.

borough was against publication, but said: 'In all you say *I most thoroughly concur.* I have been saying the same for the last six months, and urging upon all whom I could in any way influence that the Irish Church has everything to lose and nothing to gain by protracting a hopeless contest.' Remarkable words, when it is remembered that when the Bill came on for second reading in the House of Lords, Bishop Magee opposed it in a speech memorable for its eloquent denunciation of the principles of the measure. Mr. Gladstone, who also saw the pamphlet, advised against its publication, on the ground that it was too much to put on the Bishop individually, 'thus to step out in front of the ranks and decide the matter by single combat.'

It was from no timidity, however, that the non-publication was decided on but simply from the fear of a rupture of the friendship which had existed for so many years between the Bishop and the Archbishop of Dublin. Writing to Lord Lyttelton on January 20 the Bishop says:—

> A letter received this morning from the Archbishop of Dublin determines me not, under present circumstances, to publish my letter. The Archbishop eagerly deprecates my doing so, as an act of the most injurious hostility, which would stir up widespread wrath, and require probably *his* answering me in a tone which will make all future negotiations more difficult.

The private debates which took place amongst the Bishops on this subject are so remarkable that they are quoted in full from the Bishop's notes made at the time. There were two meetings: the first on February 10, the second on May 6. At the first meeting there were present the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin, the Bishops of London, Durham, St. David's, Oxford, Llandaff, Bangor, Nor-

wich, Gloucester and Bristol, Ely, Chester, Rochester, Lichfield, Hereford, Peterborough, Meath, Limerick, and Derry.

The Archbishop of Dublin opened the discussion by stating that there had been no direct offer made by Mr. Gladstone—but communications had been made tending to express a wish that we should destroy ourselves. This would (1) have forfeited all confidence of laity and clergy. (2) The Government were so tied up that it could offer little—so little that he thought that the chances of battle were better, and (3) if we had dealt we should have been unable to oppose hereafter. Not so much a *non volumus* as a *non possumus*, for we could *not* have carried our own people; we are not in the condition of a commander-in-chief who could capitulate if he saw fit.

Bishop of Peterborough said he spoke more from the Irish point of view than from the English, and was therefore exposed to be corrected from both sides. He felt the all but impossibility of the Irish Bishops coming forward to negotiate, for (*a*) they would be repudiated; (*b*) the offer of negotiations would be dangerous, for that would be seized on, and perhaps the concessions for which they negotiated would be lost. In his opinion the Irish Church should make up their minds to grant what IS lost. Suppose there is a long struggle? suppose the Bill falls and the Ministry with it? The result would be that a weak Government of friends would come in who would sacrifice all; they would act on the Report of the Commission; a change of Ministry would do no good.

The question really is, would it be possible to get from the Government by friendly acquiescence more than by a struggle? He saw the danger of dragging the Irish Church through the mud in political strife. . . . Though he felt intensely the impossibility of the Irish bishops coming forward, yet, he thought they ought to instruct us (the English bishops) on their decision of what they wish us to do; what terms they would accept; what they wish us to fight for. Could not they obtain from the Government an answer through some one man of what *they* would yield, if the Irish Church

yielded the Establishment? In conclusion, he said, he thought the time was come when the Irish Church could get more by compromise than by fight.

Bishop of Limerick: 'For myself, I entertain no idea of fighting out to the last, and admit the conclusion as inevitable; still I do not agree with the last speaker. Many who believe the fate of the Irish Church irreversible, would agree that the time was *not yet* come. I declare my belief that the fate of the Church as an establishment is sealed, and reconstruction is all that is before us. If we now take a low view, the laity and clergy would say, if you fail in the day of trial we will not help you in reconstruction. We have now called in the laity, and I believe they are going to answer. I, for one, have no intention of fighting out to the bitter end, or placing the interest of the Church on the issue of a political contest.'

Bishop of Gloucester: 'Mr. Gladstone has pointed out that it is not what he wishes, but what he may be able to do, that must finally govern him in this matter.'

Bishop of Meath: 'We are in the course of obtaining from our laity materials for giving *you* a policy. We cannot take upon ourselves to represent the Church in Ireland; for if we took a false step it would make us unable to reconstruct. As soon as we are in a position to state the mind of the Church in Ireland we will give it. There has been such a person as the Bishop of Peterborough alluded to, and then the Prime Minister maintained an absolute reticence as to the Government plan. He, Archdeacon Stopford, was not treated with full fairness.'

Bishop of Ely said, he thought it was very important not to leave the whole decision to the Irish bishops, it was very desirable that we should all act together. He was more ready to yield as a Churchman than as a member of the State; as a Churchman he would surrender, but the thought that there might be national guilt in so doing alarmed him.

Archbishop of York: 'The Irish prelates have made out their case, that it is undesirable for them to negotiate. The whole question of Establishment is settled, and the only fight is for endowments.' He thought there could be no doubt of the wickedness of disendowing; did not agree with those who

blamed the Commission; he thought we ought to watch the detail and save all we could.

Archbishop of Canterbury: Wishes 'to know whether Irish laity and clergy would *wish* to elect their bishops. The moderate Liberal party want to get as little of disestablishment as possible; this question complicates the difficulty.'

Bishop of Norwich thinks that 'nothing can be safely done till we have the House of Commons' judgment on *the* Government plan; we must have this first and the judgment of the Irish Church upon it. It is, in my opinion, far more important that the Irish Church should be free from State control than even endowed.'

Archbishop of York: 'If we proclaimed that we were beaten we should probably make the disendowment more severe.'

Archbishop of Armagh: 'I do not admit the inevitable. The people's interest must not be sacrificed: *we*, having our life interests preserved, must be very jealous against election of bishops. The terms which the Government can offer are most circumscribed. The Irish people used to mean the Protestants, now it means the Papists. We shall not do much on the voluntary system: the Wesleyans are the best beggars, and yet they cannot support themselves.'

The second meeting was held on May 6, when, with the exception of the Bishops of Meath and Bangor, all those already mentioned were present, and in addition the Bishops of Ripon, Worcester, Lincoln, and Tuam. The first speaker was the Archbishop of Armagh, who said:—

'The Irish Bishops, with one exception, will not consent to the second reading; they will offer an uncompromising resistance. If we are defeated on the second reading we will have the best amendments prepared; this course is what the Church Protestants in Ireland universally propose. The Romish hierarchy are strongly in favour of the Bill; the laity are indifferent, but the priests can easily stir them up against us.'

Archbishop of Dublin: 'The position of the Irish Bishops is different to that of the English bishops, and quite unlike

the position of our political supporters. The Irish bishops must consider what is the effect on their own people. I should not feel it any lack of friendship if the mass of others did not support us. I think the Irish bishops must, as a protest, vote against the second reading.'

Bishop of Ripon hopes that the Bishops will come to a resolution absolutely to reject the Bill if it be possible; he thought it involved a national sin and that we ought not to consent to it.

Bishop of Llandaff: 'I quite agree; and if opportunity is given me I shall vote against it as an unrighteous act. The State have a right to disestablish, but no right to seize on endowments.'

Bishop of Peterborough: 'There are two quite distinct questions; (1) whether it is a good Bill; (2) whether it is for the interest of the Irish Church to oppose the second reading. Looking at the interests of the Irish Church, I think it far best to pass and amend it; for if we throw it out, we shall have a worse. But it is quite another question what the Bishops shall do; there is a danger of exasperating enemies and of alienating friends. If the Irish Bishops asked us not to vote on the ground that it was best for the Irish Church not to throw out the Bill, I should not object on the grounds put forward by the Bishop of Ripon. If the Irish Bishops vote against the Bill, I vote against. If the Irish Bishops think amending best, let them openly say so, and we will act with them. I attach great importance to postponing any decision until later.'

Bishop of Derry: 'I agree with the last speaker; my opinions on the Bill are what they were; but I am now doubtful as to what is the best policy.'

Bishop of Limerick: 'I agree also, on the whole, but so unanimous is the feeling, that if any Irish bishop wavered he would have no opportunity of future usefulness. I think the wisest course for statesmen would be to accept the second reading and to amend.'

Bishop of London: Agrees with Bishop of Peterborough, thinks it unwise to commit ourselves. A most perplexing position. Thinks it most expedient for the Irish Church to pass the second reading, but could not himself vote for it.

Bishop of Gloucester: Has no doubt of the sacrilege of the Bill, but the question is only one of policy. Thinks the best policy would be to pass the second reading, and amend and stick to amendments. If they were not accepted, throw the Bill out on third reading.

Bishop of Ely: Agrees with the late speakers, but suggests that we should in our dioceses hold conferences of clergy and laity and come up to the House armed with the decision of our dioceses on the matter.

Bishop of Rochester: 'I think the Bill iniquitous, and it ought not to pass.'

Bishop of Oxford: 'The Bishops in the House of Lords are statesmen and must act so. We are bound to use the power we have; not what we have not. We should deeply injure the Irish Church if we threw the Bill out, and the House of Lords as well.'

Bishop of Durham: Agrees with Ripon and Oxford.

Bishop of Lichfield: 'What is the principle of the Bill? That the Established Church is to be the Church of the majority. The Queen's oath is to maintain Protestant ascendency. Quite prepared to oppose the Bill.'

Bishop of St. David's: 'I had meant to be silent. I could not take the judgment of my diocese or be led to vote by the will of the majority. I am delighted at finding that it was not the opinion of the Bishops that they ought to act as a flock of sheep. I have never been able to understand what the question before us is.'

Archbishop of Canterbury: 'The real question is, how is the great Conservative party to be influenced? All agree that some change in the Irish Establishment is inevitable. Gladstone only has a plan, in my opinion the worst possible plan, but all we can hope to do is to amend the present Bill.'

No conclusion having been come to, the discussion ended.

The debate on the Irish Church Bill began in the House of Lords on June 14, and was continued on the 15th and 17th. The Bishop, though present in the House, neither spoke nor voted. On the Bill being

taken in Committee, the Bishop thus explains his silence and gives his reasons for not voting on the second reading of the Bill :—

Upon the great issue, however, which your lordships care most about, I would ask permission to say a few words. If you consider that the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church is not settled, then I should say, there is a fundamental objection *in limine* to any proposal for dividing its property with other religious bodies. But I agree with what was said in such eloquent language by my right honourable friend the other night, that the decision of the country upon that point has been taken and is irreversible. And when your lordships were kind enough to allow me to urge my view with regard to the Suspensory Bill, I endeavoured to impress upon the House that the issue then to be decided and to be sent for that purpose to the constituencies, was nothing less, and could be taken for nothing less, than whether we should maintain an Established Church in Ireland or not.

I then urged every objection that occurred to my mind against such a course, and I retain every objection which I then urged.

I believe that the disestablishment of the Irish Church will not tend to appease Irish discontent, but, instead of doing so, will give to Irish opposition to the union with Great Britain the increased violence which comes from a taste of success without the satisfaction of the appetite.

But the question of Disestablishment, according to my humble view, is a settled question. I maintain that it was the question which was referred to the constituencies; it was to it that the answer of the constituencies was returned; it was so far confirmed by the resignation of the late Government; it received additional sanction by the appointment of the present Government; and therefore, in point of fact—let us who dislike the conclusion view it as we may—it is a settled matter. Holding that opinion, I wished very much to have stated it upon the second reading of the Bill. It may be known to many of your lordships that it was my intention to

do so, but the accidents of debate shut me out from the opportunity of making this statement and therefore I held myself incapacitated, as a Bishop of the Church of England, from giving the vote I should otherwise have given, no opportunity of stating the grounds on which I did so having presented itself. . . .

If, indeed, this struggle were to be prolonged month after month and year after year—if, animated by the mere lust of victory, the contest were to be carried on with bitterness, then indeed, I might despair of the future of the Church in Ireland. But all danger of that kind is, I trust, past, for, as your lordships are aware, political and party strife tends by degrees to eat out the heart of Christian life. I see this very keenly, and therefore I do trust that this amendment of the measure —if such, in your deliberate judgment, you should esteem it —which may leave our Irish brethren with larger resources of their own and with less of antagonism and hatred from the other side than would otherwise have been possible, may be adopted by your lordships, thereby really strengthening in her difficulty this our sister Church.

There is one thing of which I am convinced—that while an Establishment is to a particular Church in many ways a blessing unspeakable, no Church which cannot stand without an Establishment is worth being established.

I for one refuse altogether to believe such an imputation against the Irish Church. Much as I lament that which has come upon her, I believe that when all has been done which can be done to lighten what I consider a most unhappy blow, she will show herself the true Catholic Church in Ireland, rising into greatness, and leavening more than she has yet done the bulk of the population.

The next letter explains itself. Suffice it to say that it was only wrung from the Bishop by a sense of the gross injustice and foul untruth of the rumours which it contradicts. These misrepresentations must have been widespread indeed when such an old and dear friend as Mr. Majendie entertained them even for a moment. In one respect only is it fortunate that the necessity for

such a contradiction arose—namely, that it enabled the Bishop to give in his own words, the account of the part he took in this question, which account forms a fit summing up of the chapter.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. H. Majendie.

October 13, 1869.

My dear Majendie,—Though I feel it to be humiliating, after a public life of twenty-four years, in which, if such had ever been my object, I might easily have reached the highest post in 'my profession,' to answer such an implied imputation as that my votes on the Irish Church Bill were influenced by a miserable desire to get the denuded See of Winchester, which, when it was offered, I was most doubtful as to even accepting; yet, in answer to so dear a friend as you, I will explain all. When the Bill came for a second reading in the House of Lords, I considered, (1) after our rejection of the Suspensory Bill, (2) after the dissolution on the Irish Church question, (3) the appeal on it to the constituencies and their answer, and (4) the resignation of the administration, without even meeting Parliament, that the country had decided the question of Irish disestablishment, and that we (1) had no right constitutionally to refuse to read the Bill a second time, (2) could not possibly do worse service to the Irish Church than to do so. In this view such men as the Duke of Richmond (a leading member of the late Government), Lord Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Nelson (our best Churchman), the two Archbishops, and last not least the Bishop of Peterborough agreed. (He said to me that, though he was unable, as, till yesterday, an Irish ecclesiastic, to vote himself for the second reading he regarded the resisting it as sacrificing the Irish Church to the exigencies of a political party.) I did not, therefore, vote against the second reading, and if I had not missed an opportunity of expressing my views I should have supported it.

In committee I voted, I think, against the Government on every occasion except two. In committee I spoke with the utmost clearness. I stated that I had changed no one opinion as to the Bill; that I thought the whole movement

wrong and impolitic; that it would alienate friends, and win no one; but that I held the matter to be decided by the nation, and that all we could do was to make the details as little injurious as possible.

Accordingly I voted.

The only times when I voted with the Government on any matter, were (1) against postponing the money settlement, because I was convinced that nothing could be so bad for the disestablished Church. (2) Against refusing to consider and amend the Commons' amendments of our amendments. I was confident that not to do so was ruin to the Irish Church. That I was right was, I think, shown past doubt by Lord Cairns and his majority, at the very next meeting of the House, abandoning their ground and taking mine.

Looking back at it, I am more than ever confident that my votes were given in the true interest of the Irish Church. I think it just worth while to remind you farther:—

1. That when I took this line the Bishops' Resignation Bill was not passed.

2. That there was no prospect of the vacancy of any See I would accept, and I may add—

3. That when Winchester was offered to me by Mr. Gladstone he offered it saying no thanks were due to him as he only sealed the verdict of the country, that it was a tardy and insufficient acknowledgment of long services to the Church—not the sort of language used to a useful political supporter.

4. Lastly, the class of minds who indulge in these base suspicions may perhaps be affected by considering that, in making the change, I undertake, (1) harder work; (2) during the life of the present Bishop a smaller income; (3) far greater expenses; (4) the sacrifice of the love and affection of 24 years' growth. I end with saying I am ashamed for those who ask it at giving such explanations. I am most truly yours affectionately,

S. OXON.

P.S.—Since I wrote this I have received from Bishop Milman a letter expressing his entire agreement in my course. Men from afar overlook molehills, and see the real outlines of a country.

CHAPTER XI.

(1869.)

LETTER TO SIR C. ANDERSON—THE DIARY—MARTIN *v.* MACKONOCHIE—BEFORE THE TABLE—LETTERS ON CHANGE OF POSITION—DEATH OF BISHOP HAMILTON—LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF CAPETOWN—THE DIARY—OFFER OF WINCHESTER—THE LORD HIGH ALMONERSHIP—LETTER TO MR. BUTLER—LETTER FROM LORD OVERSTONE—RURIDECANAL ADDRESSES AND REPLIES—LIVERPOOL CONGRESS—FAREWELL CHARGE TO THE DIOCESE—ADDRESS OF THE CLERGY—REPLY—LETTER FROM MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ADDRESS—LEAVE-TAKING—ENTHRONEMENT AT WINCHESTER—'SILENCE IN THE GREAT CATHEDRAL.'

On December 23, 1868, Lord Cairns delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of Martin *v.* Mackonochie. Among other practices that of using lighted candles at the celebration of the Holy Communion was condemned. On this judgment the Bishop thus writes to Sir Charles Anderson, who, as the letter shows, had suffered from this practice having been introduced in the little village church of Lea, where he lived. The Bishop thoroughly sympathised with Sir Charles, as he had also been annoyed by this practice of lighting candles in his own parish of Lavington. He used to say: 'What is the use of lighting them; can't you see that the sun *always* comes in at that south window, and almost extinguishes them with its brightness?'

The Bishop of Oxford to Sir Charles Anderson.

Goodwood, Chichester, Jan. 1, 1869.

My dearest Anderson,—Many happy returns to you of the New Year. I was charmed at your last letter. I quite rejoiced at your being delivered from lights. I always particularly

disliked that bit of symbolism. It seemed so absurd to light smoky candles in the sunlight, ugh! But I fear the effect of the judgment in many quarters. It is so palpably one-sided, and meant by Cairns to please 'The Times.' I hear the lawyers were two and two, and the Archbishop of York gave the casting vote for it. The Ritualists have brought it on us, but it is a very serious thing to have the Supreme Court decide to satisfy the public and not as the law really is. There is one point on which this seems to me clear—the throwing over the royal injunctions by Parliament without notice of any sort. For the Act of Elizabeth repeals these injunctions. Now if that Act was needed to repeal them, they must have had Parliamentary force; and our rubric says what were in force by Parliamentary authority in the 2nd of K. E. VI., therefore these must come under it. There may be an answer to this, but if so it should be given. It is a bright morning. This is a charming house, and such nice people. The more you know the better you like them. I have a most charming letter from old Hook to-day, and though the old year has been a heavily shadowed one to me, I try to go gladly into the new one. May God bless you and all yours, my dear old Friend. Your very affectionate

S. OXON.

Writing to his son Ernest, he thus sends his new year's greetings:—

Goodwood, Chichester, Jan. 1, 1869.

The first lines of this morning are for you, to wish you every blessing from our God in this new year.

It has opened here with brilliant sunshine in nature's realms and amidst all the chills of earth round us and all the clouds gathering over His Church on many sides.

May He Who died for us shed His own light in our hearts, and all shall be bright.

January 4.—Fulham. Off after breakfast and talk with Archbishop (of Canterbury), amicable and useful, about future, &c. Down to Lavington with my E. and F. Happy meeting at Lavington; Perceval, Jersey, and Owen came; Mrs. Denman, and B——[1] and F. Buckland. Good company.

[1] Miss Denman—now Lady Milbanke.

January 5.—Day very wet. They all went to catch fish for trout spawn. Buckland's strange dress. I rode to Graffham and back with W. Hook. Wrote a good deal, and finished Micaiah son of Imlah.[2]

January 10.—Up betimes. Letters. Service. Some earnestness, *spero.* Preached afternoon: danger of neglecting, and how to use manifestations. Much colder to-day; glass sinking, and wind S.E. Evening, some nice music. Read a good deal of Ffoulkes's pamphlet, &c. Strange that he sees so much of Rome's abominations and yet sticks to her.

February 16.—To London. Committee of Bishops on Bill for resignation with pensions: much concord. Went to House of Lords to hear Gladstone's first speech as Prime Minister. Calm, moderate, and kindly. Disraeli constrained *suo more.* Dined at Athenæum, C. Anderson, Phillimore, and Archbishop of Dublin with me.

This extract, from a letter to his son Ernest, evinces the Bishop's ever-constant anxiety for his children :—

26 Pall Mall, Feb. 17.

I was disappointed more than I can say at getting no bulletin from you. Please send me ever so short an account.

When I love a person as I love you, though I can, when wide awake, force anxious thoughts out of my mind as a matter of religious duty, yet in the half-waking moments of a disturbed night such anxieties become very troublesome. Don't think I don't understand how, with all your work, it has happened.

The diary next records the annual Lenten mission, held this year at Maidenhead. And so highly did the people appreciate the efforts that were being made, that all shops in the town, including those belonging to the Dissenters, were closed at seven every evening, in order that all might go to the evening services. The Lenten Ordination was, as usual, held during the mission week.

[2] For *Good Words.*

Fcbruary 21.—(Maidenhead). Morning, the Ordination. Woodford preached an excellent sermon on 'a city that hath foundations.' Dear Archdeacon Randall came. A striking service. After some letters, with Woodford helping, prepared sermon on God's forbearance. Vast congregation; did not satisfy myself, but many liked it—God bless it. They very attentive.

February 22.—Gave the Communion address. Confirmed at Cookham Dean, Bray, and Boyne Hill. And at evening service Body preached. Too much rant to please me, but evidently a very impressive sermon. Very interesting conference after.

February 27.—Maidenhead. Early Communion, and very good addresses by Pott, with whom after to Wargrave confirmation and Shottisbrooke. To Maidenhead Mission Chapel. Evening, addressed working-men in school. Very much tired at night.

February 28.—Anniversary of my Herbert's death. Up early. At 10 off for Hurley. Service and Confirmation, nice. Then to open school chapel. Stormy day. Prepared sermon, and preached on blessedness of life in God to a very large and attentive congregation.

March 16.—Aston Tirrold. Confirmation a nice one. On to Streatley, ditto. Then to St. Catherine's, Bearwood. Walked with C. Lloyd and Walter about grounds. A good many to dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Walter very pleasant.

The visit to Bearwood mentioned in the above entry is one of the many which the Bishop paid to Mr. Walter. In 1864, the diary notes a visit there in these words: 'To Bearwood. J. Walter, as always with me, cordial.' And the next day the diary gives a rather curious piece of history connected with the great daily paper of which Mr. Walter was so large a proprietor:—

J. Walter's curious talk about 'Times.' One of his father's rules was that the editor never wrote. Stirling never edited; wrote articles only, like anyone else. Circulation 70,000; profits larger than ever. The crisis whether he should lower price. Did so to prevent a twopenny first-class paper stepping in.

The Diary for 1869 then continues:—

March 17.—To London, Ritual. Called Grosvenor Street;[3] better report. Ritual and Lectionary till late. Dined Duke of Cambridge; large party: Hardy, Northcote, Pakington, Duke of Marlborough. Home with Duke. Very strong, that House of Lords ought to throw out Irish Church Bill. Duty to protect property.

March 20.—Confirmation at Wellington College. Cold very bad; but, D. G. managed to be heard. After luncheon, writing, and seeing, with Fosbery to Old Windsor. Dear Blunt affectionate as always. A very nice Confirmation. Back to Windsor Castle and prepared sermon. Dined with the Queen. A great deal of talk with Princess Louise; clever and very agreeable. The Queen very affable. 'So sorry Mr. Gladstone started this about Irish Church, and he is a great friend of yours,' &c.

March 21.—Up to prepare sermon: 'Let this mind be in you.' Well listened to. Afternoon confirmed at Eton Parish. Wet. Back with Fosbery to St. George's, and tea at Deanery. Dined with household. Sent for to Queen after. Talk with her and Princess Louise. Norman Macleod's story of rather gluttonous Presbyterian minister, who was used to look at the dinner before saying grace; and if it was a good one, began, 'Bountiful Jehovah,' &c. If it looked bad, 'We are not, O Lord, worthy of the least of Thy mercies.'

March 27.—Started early from Lilly Hill to Oxford. Very cold. Wrote at Reading. Snow at Oxford. My Basil met me. Confirmed at St. Giles', St. Mary's, and St. Thomas'. Lunch warden of All Souls, where C——[4] and darling Herbert.[5] Very much wearied out. To London, writing. Dined with E. Hamilton, and saw Bishop of Salisbury. After dinner, palpitations. Dr. Gull came in, most kind. Sent out for medicines, and attended me till between 12 and 1.

The illness recorded in the above entry lasted several days, during which, as the diary relates, the Bishop was engaged in writing a review for 'The

[3] On Bishop Hamilton. [4] Mrs. Basil Wilberforce. [5] His grandson.

Quarterly,' on Sir J. T. Coleridge's memoir of Mr. Keble, and 'Abraham' for 'Good Words.' The latter was one of a series of articles on the Hebrew Patriarchs written for this journal, principally in this year; they were afterwards republished in a separate book which was called 'Heroes of Hebrew History.'

The Martin *v.* Mackonochie judgment had decided in favour of 'standing' instead of 'kneeling before the Table.' And though the words 'before the Table' were not directly before the Court, yet it appeared by an *obiter dictum* in the judgment that 'before the Table' would be held to mean in front. The Bishop accordingly changed the position in which he had previously stood; and, during the Consecration Prayer, stood in front of the Table. The next letters, written to men of different schools of thought, explain the Bishop's reasons for making the change. Afterwards, when in another case the interpretation of the whole rubric was before the Court, and it decided against the view expressed by the Bishop in these letters, he again, in obedience to the law, reverted to his original position at the north end.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. C. J. Elliott.

Lavington, May 11.

I understand before the Table as you do, with this exception. I think that it abides as the rule *wherever* the Table stands, and obliges us *there* to stand before it. I do not agree as to being *seen* of the people. I think the point of the rubric is against wafers, and means that the bread is *openly* to be broken in the face of the congregation. Moreover, I see no difficulty in breaking it on the right-hand side of the Priest, without any stretching or awkwardness, more in sight than at the north end. But, my dear Elliott, my heart is sick of seeing the attention and heart of the Church turned aside to such trifles when we have untaught multitudes and uncon-

verted millions and scores and scores of unbelieving rationalists to whom we do not preach Jesus Christ crucified. May God forgive us. Yours, ever affectionately,

S. OXON.

The next day he again writes to him :—

I should be very sorry to *seem* to you to give you any just grounds of complaint. I cannot see the least ground myself in this matter.

Right or wrong, I consider the late judgment *to have decided* that I am bound to say the Consecration Prayer 'standing before the Table.' I cannot separate *standing* (the actual point in contest) from 'before the Table.' I found that one of the coolest-headed of my brethren, with whom I was in communication, the Bishop of Worcester felt the same obligation. Therefore, simply as an act of obedience, I conform.

I stated this to my Rural Deans, asking them to make known my change of custom *and its reason* to their Chapters, and to say that whilst, as this point had *not been legally raised and decided*, I did not feel able or willing to enforce it, I should be *very* glad if we could all act uniformly on the simple principle of obedience ; all standing at the north end except at the Consecration Prayer ; all before the Table at it.

I cannot believe that you can see in this anything except the desire to be entirely open with my clergy.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. A. P. Cust.

May 11, 1869.

My dear Cust,—My position is this : a new legal decision has required obedient attention to the rubric, 'the Priest standing before the Table shall say, &c.' The only part of this rubric which came in question before the Court was the word 'standing.' 'Before the Table' was not therefore interpreted by the Court ; but whatever be its true interpretation, new vigour was given to it as a command. I think, therefore, we are bound to 'stand before the Table' at the Consecration Prayer. *I* understand this to be standing in the front of the Table, turning towards it. I have felt, therefore, bound to change my own custom ; and, instead of standing at the north

end of the Table throughout the Communion office, I, at the time of the Consecration Prayer, move to the Holy Table, and stand at the west side, turning towards the Table during the Consecration Prayer. I do not feel that I have a right to order this, because no authoritative interpretation has been given of the words 'standing before the Table;' and I have no *wish* to make an order. But I should of course rejoice if the clergy generally would adopt one and the same order in the Diocese. This would be to preach the morning sermon in the surplice; to stand at the west end of the Holy Table throughout the Communion office, save at the time of the Consecration, and to say that prayer standing at the west side of the Table turned towards it. If this were generally done, the great badges of party would be banished from our churches and men's minds might, under God's blessing, be drawn from a miserable strife about the mode of the clergyman's dress to the glorious and blessed work of preaching Christ crucified before perishing souls.

June 10.—Poor night; cough, &c. I went to breakfast with Gladstone; Newman Hall, Duke of Argyll, &c. &c. A talk with Gladstone; about Irish Church. Then Ecclesiastical Commission. Then Ritual till House of Lords. A little ride, and dined at Lady Herbert's.

June 11.—Poor night. Prevost breakfasted. Various came. Then Ritual and letters till House of Lords. Committee of Bounty Board. Dined Merchant Tailors, going with Hope, and sitting next Lord Stanley. Much talk. Strong against throwing out Irish Church Bill. 'My father cannot be convinced that he is now a mere private, and so allowed to take part as his inclinations lead.'

June 12.—Poorly from cough in night. Letters, and various with me. —— interesting case of conscience. Clergyman full of earnestness, half-convinced that Irvingism, which he had joined, false; quite convinced that much of its present teaching false; great struggle if to resign. British Museum; first attendance. Dizzy's cold estrangement from *all*. He and I did not see one another. Warm greetings from the rest. Letters and 'Joseph,'[6] and down to Coworth.

[6] For *Good Words*.

June 13.—Very poor night, wakeful and cough; and yet, D.G., better to-day. Prepared and preached with interest sermon on Luke xv. 7. After wrote 'Joseph' and letters. Walked down Cedar Walk and by Virginia Water with Arbuthnot. Grand old giant trees and very beautiful in sunlight. Yet man's aspiration for freedom. Arbuthnot never rides in Park except to show it—goes to open down. Dr. Monsell preached evening on my morning text: good, but too Irish.

On August 3, the Bishop thus writes to the Bishop of Capetown. The first part of the letter refers to the death of Bishop Hamilton, who was so dear to both of them. Bishop Wilberforce's affection for Bishop Hamilton is manifested by the correspondence which took place between them. Bishop Wilberforce always wrote to him as 'My dearest brother.' It is to be regretted that most of these letters were of such a private character that they could not be published.

How exceeding great is our loss! I feel that there is no one left quite like him, dearly as I love Rochester and most highly as I value him. It has been quite a terrible struggle this long illness, mind depressed, I think, through the effect of the bodily ailment. But the soul evidently ripening and clearing ever more; and now he is at peace. It was the hardness of those Dorsetshire clergy after his last Charge and their long persecution which broke his heart and as much killed him as if they had used the knife.

I wait, not without deep anxiety, for the nomination of his successor. I have not any misgivings about Gladstone personally. But as leader of the party to which the folly of the Conservatives and the selfish treachery of Disraeli bit by bit allied him he cannot do what he would, and, with all his vast powers, there is a want of sharp-sighted clearness as to others. But God rules.

I do not see how we are, after Disraeli's Reform Bill, long to avoid fundamental changes both in Church and State.

In my own diocese all, thank God, advances quietly and

peacefully as I should wish. I have a prospect of a visitation before me this year: always to me a disagreeable time from its being such a demonstration of one's self, one's opinions, &c. And yet I hardly see how to break away from the trammels of its customary management.

August 2.—Off early to Wantage, Reading, and Checkendon. A large gathering, and most hearty welcoming, D.G. When others gone, went and looked at *our* room! After, luncheon in tent.

On this occasion the Rector proposed the health of the Bishop under the name of Mr. Wilberforce, for it was as Mr. Wilberforce that the Bishop's name was cherished there. As was said by an old woman in the workhouse at Henley, in 1864, 'He went away from us and sorely we missed him. We heard that they had made him a Bishop, but he was *our* Mr. Wilberforce, and I can never call him anything else.'

August 7.—Macclesfield and Lane Fox went; all very pleasant. How kind people are! Yet what a void in my heart! Such a longing all these days for closer union with Christ, my only Lord. Dearest children, kind friends only make me long more for what only can fill my heart up. Oh, dear Lord, by Thy own might, work in me that oneness with Thee. My dearest brother at Salisbury being even now laid in the ground. His work how faithfully done. On to Leeds where welcomed with great affection by Woodford. Walked about Leeds.

On September 1, the Bishop was at Inverness with the Bishop of Rochester to preach at the opening of the cathedral. The entry in the diary is: 'Most kindly received by Bishop Eden and all his family. The cathedral excellent.' At the luncheon the Bishop spoke of the power of Bishop Eden of overleaping difficulty, 'prophetically shown at Oxford by his power of leaping over anything that he could reach the top of

with his nose. . . . Put a difficulty before him, his first instinct is to leap over it. There is another way of dealing with a difficulty; that is, retiring into a corner to growl and bite your own tail. That way will never answer.'

From Inverness, the Bishop, with the Bishop of Rochester, so often his companion in these Scotch expeditions which were always a pleasure to him, went to Glenferness, Lord Leven's, where he was 'most kindly welcomed. Fly-fished with Bishop of Rochester. He succeeded better than I.'

September 4.—To Gordon Castle, with Lord A. Lennox. Walked with Duke (of Richmond) to Spey and round Gardens. He quite alive to danger to Established Church now from giving up the Patronage question. His factor's answer when a minister told him how they had carried it in Synod: 'Then you'll be giving up your own livings and taking them back if freely appointed.' Complaint of minister: 'A gude man, but terribly confined to the paper.'

September 5.—Up and prepared sermon, Matthew vi. 6. Preached it with interest, the little chapel quite full. A happy Communion. Afternoon Bishop of Rochester preached on Love of God and our love of each other. A walk in the afternoon to Burn on river. All very pleasant.

September 7.—Off at 5 A.M. Read office. Wrote a good bit of Samson.[7] Read a little. Wonderful beauty of the Ben Mac Dhui and Cairn Gorm district. Heavy clouds with all varieties of lights settling down on them. Killiecrankie beautiful but not the exalted beauty of the others. Rain came on and murky in Glasgow, where Cathedral with B. Wilson. To Balloch to dinner and sleep. Full of birthday thoughts and prayers.

September 8.—Off by 8.30 boat. The morning beautiful. All cascades, &c., filled with night's rain. At Lake's Head on box of coach with Bishop of Rochester. To Forest Lodge where Mrs. Claughton, &c. What a welcome to Claughton! what I once had. All most kind to me.

[7] For *Good Words.*

September 15.—London. Slept a good deal in the night. Breakfasted at Athenæum. Heard from W. E. G. Most kind letter. 'Time come for him to seal the general verdict,' and ask if he might name me to Queen for Winchester. Down evening to Oxford and Middleton.[8] The dear ones there very affectionate.

This entry in the diary shows the confirmation of the rumour that Bishop Wilberforce was to succeed his old friend Bishop Sumner, at Winchester. Ever since the passing of the 'Bishops' Resignation Bill' common report had placed Bishop Wilberforce at Winchester. So authoritatively had this been stated that in August the Bishop found it necessary to write to one of his clergy who had sent a most affectionate letter, saying that he had not received the slightest intimation of any offer of the See of Winchester, nor did he imagine any offer would be made until the actual resignation took place in October. The letter then says: 'These rumours have forced me to feel what a wrench it would be to tear me from my present affectionate and beloved diocese.' Mr. Gladstone took the unusual course of first asking the Bishop whether he might name him to the Queen. Mr. Gladstone was aware that it was no promotion he had to offer, and he was also aware of the disadvantageous temporal conditions which were attached to the See of Winchester, as the income the Bishop would receive from the Diocese was, on account of Bishop Sumner's pension, smaller than that which he received as Bishop of Oxford. The claims upon it were greater. The work was harder, there was a Diocese to organise afresh, and all the cares and troubles of South London—this was all Bishop Wilberforce gained by the translation from Oxford to Winchester. Doubtless it was the conviction that there

[8] The living of his son Ernest.

was much to be done in this new sphere, coupled with an almost romantic attachment to the scene of his early labours as parish-priest and Archdeacon, that decided the Bishop, after twenty-four years' work, to leave the Oxford diocese which his skill and energy had welded together out of the most discordant materials. This now perfectly organised diocese was to be exchanged for one which required re-organisation and in which he was regarded by many of the clergy with suspicion, in place of the confidence which his labours had won for him in Oxford.

This accord between the Bishop and his clergy made a great impression on the late Lord Beaconsfield, who, after a meeting in 1868 at which he was present and spoke, said to a friend: 'There is one thing in the Bishop of Oxford which strikes me even more than his eloquence: it is the wonderful faculty he possesses of gathering round him so many like-minded with himself for work.'

Some, indeed, of the clergy, notably Charles Kingsley, welcomed him with affection; but as, during his long episcopate, Bishop Sumner had appointed to every living in his gift in the diocese except two, it is not a matter of surprise that the majority of the Winchester clergy should have regarded Bishop Wilberforce with feelings natural to men who dislike change.

One new position, as Dean Hook said, the Bishop secured by the change, which was 'that many who were accustomed to think the Bishop of Oxford common property, always ready for any work in England or Scotland, will hesitate to apply to the Bishop of Winchester.' Whether this concentration of labour was a gain to a man of the Bishop's temperament may be doubted; but at any rate he could no longer be, as Mrs. Sargent used to designate him, 'a hack Bishop.'

The next letter refers to the Lord High Almonership. This was an appointment in the Royal Household, and conferred on the holder all the privileges of a member of the Household. The Bishop had held this appointment since 1847. It in nowise appertained to the Bishopric like the Chancellorship of the Garter or the Prelacy of that Order to which he succeeded as Bishop of Winchester.

Dean Wellesley, who was chaplain to the Queen, had ascertained from Her Majesty that if the Bishop resigned the Lord High Almonership she would wish him to be appointed to the post. He thereupon wrote to the Bishop saying, 'You will understand that the wish originated from me, *not from the Queen.*' The Bishop thereupon resigned the Lord High Almonership, and the Dean, writing on September 22, says: 'From few could have been expected so great and disinterested an act of friendship as you have shown to me. I shall always feel most grateful to you.'

The Bishop of Oxford to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

September 21, 1869.

I will not disguise from you that it *is* a great surrender: 1st, from its connection with the Queen; and 2nd, from its large opportunity of charity. But I entirely appreciate the reason for my making it. The personal advantages of the *entrée* and the right of passing through the Park, which I have enjoyed for twenty-two years, I understand you that I retain as Prelate of the Garter. I highly appreciate your kindness in not naming this till the other transfer was settled, and for the same cause I should be glad not to tender it or have it talked of till I am well settled in the new seat. I should be very glad if you would allow *me* to communicate in secrecy to the Bishop of Winchester your offer to me. I think, from our old connection and regard, he is entitled to hear it from me, and that it would a good deal facilitate matters between us.

The more formal announcement of the translation to the See of Winchester is contained in this letter:—

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

September 28, 1869.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—One word to say that I now personally propose to you, with the Queen's sanction, that you should be translated from Oxford to Winchester. You are aware, I think, of all the circumstances which affect this transfer; and I send this letter as a mere matter of business on a subject virtually settled already. But I must add that I shall watch with a profound interest the girding up of such energies as yours for the great work which the metropolitan part in particular of your diocese will open to you; and that, in regard to those incidental attributes of your position which belong to the mixed sphere of religion and the *sæculum*, I shall not scruple to avail myself upon occasion of the privileges of an old friendship, thoroughly cemented by the difficulties of these arduous times, to submit any representation that may be prompted by my point of view to your independent judgment.

If you obtain any more exact information as to the time when Winchester will be vacant, please to let me know. I remain affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

An extract from a letter to Sir R. Phillimore, written the day the Bishop received Mr. Gladstone's letter, is: 'I can hardly contemplate leaving this diocese for any other work without a broken heart. But wherever THE HAND seems to me to lead I would follow.'

To Mr. Butler the Bishop writes:

Norris Green, Liverpool, Oct. 2, 1869.

After doubts greatly aggravated by your and Mrs. Butler's advice and with a tearing of my heart asunder, I have just signified to the Crown the acceptance by me of the offered

See of Winchester. I hope, after earnest prayer and such counsel as I could get, that I have done right.

If my strength lasts, and if I am *able* (for I shall be a much poorer man) to live in the new See, I see openings of work and usefulness which it does not seem to me that a continuance in my happy diocese would afford me. I beseech you to pray for me.

It is to be a secret amongst intimate friends till the resignation is complete.

You will be thoroughly satisfied with my successor. Mackarness of Exeter is to succeed me.

After this formal offer was accepted, the Bishop received from all parts of the diocese letters and addresses of affection. One of these letters is so touching and so characteristic that it is given in full :

Lord Overstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

Balcarres, Fife, October 8, 1869.

My dear Lord Bishop,—Your very kind letter has found its way to me in this benighted land, where Bishops are held to be unorthodox and without authority !

But what must I say to the communication which it conveys to me ? Must I suppress all selfish feelings and really rejoice in the good fortunes of my neighbours of Winchester, though obtained at the sacrifice of myself and my brethren of Bucks, Berks, and Oxon ? This is a hard lesson to learn and to practise. But I will strive to bear all things and to hope all things, to bear my own loss and desolation whilst contemplating the happier state of others—O rare virtue ! to hope that that wonderful union of physical and moral energy which has worked such wonders in the diocese of Oxford may long continue unimpaired in the new vineyard to which it is about to be translated—there burning the weeds and there making them to fertilise the very ground which they may have encumbered, and at the same time stirring to its very depth the good soil, and making an hundredfold to spring up where fifty only were seen before.

But what of Lavington—that place of grateful memory, of hard living, of hard riding, hard walking, hard talking, and soft kindness which cannot be forgotten—there at least will remain a neutral spot, where the members of the deserted flock may meet their former pastor and master—placing their frankincense and myrrh at his feet and seeking in return the continuance of his episcopal benediction.

'Tibi in aliena regna abeunti fausta omnia ac felicia exopto.' OVERSTONE.

Of the Bishop's responses to addresses from the Rural Deaneries this answer to the clergy of the Cuddesdon Ruri-Decanal Chapter may be taken as a specimen. All such responses alike bear witness that, while the Bishop felt he ought not to refuse the toil and responsibility of the great Winchester diocese, yet, now that the leave-taking had really begun, he could hardly bear it.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. J. Ashhurst.

Shalstone, October 16, 1869.

My dear Ashhurst,—I shall be greatly obliged by your assuring your Rural Chapter how warmly I return their expression of affection. I have had in them to do with men devoted to their high calling, exemplary in life, of rare ability; and who have shown a readiness to work with me, and a tenderness and forbearance towards me as well as a confidence in me which touch my inmost soul.

I can never hope for so happy a lot as that which I am yielding up. But I ask for my brethren's prayers that I may be enabled to know and do the will of God in the numberless perplexities and difficulties which I see before me. I shall ever watch over your success and theirs with the most lively interest. I feel now that their question as to a Diocesan Synod must await the judgment of my successor.

I am ever your and their heartily affectionate

S. OXON.

To the Rev. Hugh Pearson he writes :—

Giving up Oxford is to me like giving up life now it comes to the point: and following with diminished means, &c., C. R. W., and taking his seat at the head of a diocese leavened as that is: it all seems *terrible*, simply terrible.

To the Rev. Canon Gordon the Bishop writes :—

I cannot tell the pain of leaving you all. At present my spirits are sunk utterly, and I can only ask for your prayers that the strength of God may uphold my heart and enable me to do something for His glory in my new diocese.

October 2.—Coed Coch. Rode with Mr. J. Wynne to mountain view. Then to Liverpool by rail. Mackarness joined me. Oxford offered to him. We much talk: he means to carry everything on just as now, &c. I wrote to reassure King. Very kindly received at Mrs. Heywood's.

October 5.—Up soon after 6; sleepless. Wrote, &c. With Mr. Heywood to Liverpool. Congress. Service and sermon by Dean of Chester; sensible and Christian; but poor and very little of the Evangel. Only warmed when he justified German theology—one good bit—that the emptying Christianity of dogma would perish it, like Charlemagne's face when exhumed.

On the 7th the Bishop was again at the Liverpool Congress, speaking at the working-men's meeting. In the course of his speech he said that if he wanted working men to join with him in worshipping God in unity of spirit, it was :—

That the Church of the Redeemer in this Christian land may have the working of that Spirit which dwells, not in the clergy, but in the whole body of the faithful, that it may have that Spirit not checked by our divisions and our coldness, but that it may have the whole body livingly pervaded by that life-giving Spirit, so that we may all live as one in Christ. I need not tell you that is not the case at present, and I do not think the fault is yours only—it is the fault also of those above you in the natural gifts of this life, and, above

all, of us the clergy. I think that we have been in times past very careless; I think that we have looked upon the clerical life too much as a profession—I hate the name. We are merely office-bearers in the one body pervaded by the Spirit —bearing that office not for our own sakes, but for yours. Therefore I say that the one thing I desire to see coming out of such a conclave as this to-night, and out of all the gatherings held in this room, is the admission of this, that we are one in Jesus Christ, that our differences are infinitesimal to every man who has learned to love the Lord Jesus Christ with all his heart and to see that the one object of living is to have His life pervading our life by the Spirit of God.

October 19.—Reading. After breakfast, consecration of St. Barnabas (Oxford). Disagreeable service. Acolyte running about. Paste squares for bread, &c.—but the church a great gift. To Reading. Dined with Archbishop Laud's trustees, and slept at Cust's.

October 30.—Latimers. Morning much writing 'Samuel,'[9] and letters. To Chesham Waterside. Preached for hospital on 'Weep with.' All very kind and sympathising. Opened Hospital. Luncheon and spoke. In carriage sent by Lord Chesham to Slough. Mayor of Windsor there and cordial, and so down to Reading.

November 1.—Reading. Set to work at Charge. To church and preached at St. Mary's on 'Out of weakness.' By rail to Aldershot, where John Sumner very kind. Went and saw Bishop Sumner; after first nervousness his own look. Walked with him, and dined, he very cordial. Here came I to this very room with Emily in 1836.

November 5.—Uppark. Letters and Charge. Lord Stratford said: 'Duke of Wellington early learning never to trust to anyone else doing anything.' Lesson for me now at Winchester.

On November 2 the Bishop writes to his son Ernest:—

We are hard all at Ritual Commission, so forgive a certain

[9] For *Good Words*.

abruptness of writing. I send you by this book-post to-day a very interesting conspectus of the diocese of Winchester . . . it makes me almost shudder to think of having the spiritual charge of such a body.

By the Bishop's desire, the formal translation to Winchester was postponed to November, in order that he might deliver his triennial Charge. In this farewell Charge the Bishop reviewed his episcopate of nearly a quarter of a century in the Diocese of Oxford. The Charge set forth in detail the various organisations which had been called into existence and showed the progress which they had made. The answers to a new set of questions enabled the Bishop to give the amount of money which had been raised in this purely agricultural diocese, for building, restoring and endowing churches, schools, and Houses of Mercy since 1845, which reached a total of 2,120,552*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* The Charge also dealt with the leading Church questions. The farewell to the diocese is given in the Bishop's own words:—

Over these twenty-five years, my brethren, you will, I think, readily understand that I cannot on this occasion of our meeting thus cast back my eyes without awakening in myself conflicting feelings which are almost too deep for utterance. It is not merely, as it has been with me before, the bringing home to me the fact that so large a part of my life and service has been spent, and that my own great account, and the account of many of you who have laboured with me, and whom I love so well, must be drawing near; it is not only that I am reminded that I have now occupied this seat two years longer than the longest-lived of my predecessors since the See was founded; but it is that I speak to you for the last time; that my staff of office must in a few weeks be broken, and another take the charge with which my life has become one.

It was not without the most anxious doubt that I as-

sented to this change, involving as it did the severance of the dearest ties and the undertaking severer labours with diminished means for their performance. But upon weighing the whole case with the aid of the best counsel I could obtain, I judged that so the will of God was. I go back, therefore, into the sphere of my earlier work in the Church of Christ, to find there, thank God, many old friends whose warm welcome allays, though it cannot heal, the smart of separation from you. For—I am bound to say it—I believe that no Bishop ever had more loving and more effectual support than you have rendered me in this diocese. So it has long been, yet ever growing and increasing as the years have run on; and now my approaching separation from you has drawn forth expressions of personal affection greater by far than I before knew to exist, and declarations of some good results with which God's mercy has blessed my poor labours which at once humble and rejoice my heart. Turn which side I may, I have but the same words to say; I thank you most heartily for your generous and abundant help; to the Archdeacons, to the Principals of Cuddesdon and of Culham, to the Rural Deans, to the school inspectors, to the officers of our different Diocesan institutions, lay as well as clerical, who have given, as an unpaid service, a zeal, a judgment, and an untiring energy in labour which money never could have purchased, I return my heartiest thanks. To the laity of the diocese generally I must say the same; they have through these years stood nobly by their fathers' Church; they have given us their money, their counsel, their confidence, and their active support in ten thousand ways; as the Churchwardens of our parishes they have ever helped and supported me; they have, in far the greater number of instances, received with kindness, and carried out with alacrity, my official directions; whilst among those of our laity to whom God has given this world's wealth, there have been some who have built for us noble churches, and contributed with a magnificent generosity to their endowment and to all our diocesan works. To me personally, as their Bishop, they have shown a loving kindness which, whilst I live, I can never forget; suffering, in very many instances, official ties to turn into the

golden bands of generous friendship and Christian affection; so that in very many times of trial I may say with the great Apostle, 'I have had great joy and consolation in their love.'[1]

And if it has been thus with the laity of the diocese, how, my brethren of the clergy, can I thank you enough for all your goodness towards me, your ready acceptance of all official requirements, your abundance in labour, your unweariedness in love? How differently, thank God, can I speak as to my experience in this diocese from that which was the heavy burden of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, when in bonds and imprisonment the sorest of his earthly trials was the sense of loneliness and desertion breathed out in those touching words, 'These only are my fellow workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.'

. . . Unto His good keeping, by whom I have been for a season set over you in the Lord I solemnly commend you, and, as one who knows his own utter weakness and deep unworthiness, I beseech you to offer up to our God your prayers and supplications for me when I am parted from you, as you have done when I was present with you. For those prayers, for all the kindness, forbearance, confidence, help, and love which for four-and-twenty years you have given me I once again thank you heartily in the Lord. May He reward you for it. May He make His grace to abound more and more toward you and minister to you in His good time an abundant entrance into His everlasting kingdom. The last word almost refuses to be spoken, but, Brethren of the Clergy, Brethren of the Laity, I bid you in Christ's name farewell in the Lord.

A valedictory address was presented to the Bishop from the clergy of the diocese on November 11, in the Hall of All Souls' College, Oxford:—

We the undersigned clergy of your Lordship's diocese of Oxford have learnt with unfeigned sorrow that your Lordship's long and much valued administration of the affairs of this diocese will within a few weeks from this day come to an end.

We are sensible that the offer made to you of a formal

[1] Ep. to Philemon.

recommendation of your Lordship's name for election as future Bishop of the See of Winchester is but a just appreciation on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of the effectual rule which your Lordship has exercised over us during twenty-four years of incessant watchfulness and active labour.

At the same time we cannot disguise our deep regret that an episcopate such as your Lordship's, during which so much hearty, earnest and intelligent vigour has been exhibited, and so much permanent good fruit produced, should determine while your Lordship is blessed with health and energies to continue among us the great works which, under the blessing of God upon your most constant labours, you have begun and lived to see so well and so fully established.

We with sorrow bid your Lordship farewell. We are conscious that your able government has earned for this diocese a reputation recognised not only in our own province but in England generally and throughout our gracious Sovereign's dominions and a name held in estimation in the Church of the United States of America.

May God grant to you to find in your new weighty sphere of duty the same hearty co-operation of the clergy and of the laity which your affectionate, considerate and judicious course among us has justly won.

Lastly, for ourselves, as we do not presume to ask for a reconsideration of your Lordship's decision, it remains for us to assure your Lordship that your Lordship's sympathy with each one of us in his separate difficulties, together with your Lordship's wise and earnest counsels, have taught us so to esteem the office which your Lordship is holding that, apart from other considerations of deepest moment, our reception of your Lordship's successor will be such as becomes a body of clergy led by a spirit of unity among themselves and by a desire to uphold ecclesiastical authority in the diocese and, far above all, by a faithful and devoted love to Him who, by His servants the Bishops, rules His Church, being Himself the Head of all, God blessed for evermore!

The Bishop returned the following answer to the address :—

Rev. Brethren,—I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your loving address.

It is with great sorrow that I return your farewell. I should have been rejoiced to end my days in working with a body of clergy whose fidelity, zeal, love of souls, and devotion to Christ and to the best interests of His kingdom, as well as whose affectionate loyalty to their Bishop, made oversight easy and united labour a joy.

But the Voice seemed to me to call me away and I go.

To God be all the praise for any good done in this diocese during my episcopate; I can see in the retrospect little save my own shortcomings.

I very earnestly ask you to continue the prayers you promise to offer up for me in my new sphere of labour.

God forbid that I should cease to pray for you, and so the mysterious bonds which link together the Church of Christ may yet be strengthened between us, even when it is not given us to labour together in bodily presence.

I thank you for the love, support, and co-operation of twenty-four years.

I pray God to bless you one and all in your own souls, in your families, and in your parishes, and to grant us a joyful meeting for Christ's sake, by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the day of our Lord's appearing.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Oxford.

November 20, 1869.

My dear Bishop of Oxford,—One extorted word to say I have seldom read anything with more pleasure or more emotion than the address to you from the clergy of your now vanishing diocese and your reply.

You have not known me as a flatterer, and so I the more freely say it makes the heart bound to feel that even in this poor world truth and justice sometimes claim their own, and thank God it has not been in the power of jealousy or cowardice, or spite, 'or any other' evil creature to detract one jot from the glory of that truly great episcopate, the records of which you have written alike in the visible outward his-

tory of the Church and in the fleshy tablets of the heart of men.

May the undying courage with which you now gird yourself for the work elsewhere feed you with the bodily strength which I am well assured is the only quality for it that can ever fail you.

I wish I had been an Oxford clergyman qualified to sign.[2]

Do not write. But when you chance to have occasion, I shall like to know how many signed. Affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

To which the Bishop replied :—

November 30, 1869.

My dear Gladstone,—Your words made my heart warm. The number of names attached to the address, and they still flow in, is between 700 and 800. I trust indeed that my physical strength may suffice for the work before me and that God's blessing may not be withheld. It is not *the* post for which, after so many years of labour and gathered experience, I should have chosen to leave Oxford.

I am, ever yours very affectionately,

S. OXON.

The rest of November the Bishop spent in his diocese. The entries in his diary show with what sorrow he parted from the clergy and laity who had worked so heartily with him for twenty-four years.

'*November* 14, Oxford.—'Much leave-taking and very sad.' November 20, Newbury.—'Address from clergy and laity. Greatly depressed. Dear H. Majendie all affection; he said, "Astonishing how all hearts are open to you."' November 29, Reading.—'Farewell meeting. I very low.'

On December 1, he began his work in the Winchester diocese. 'Confirmation at St. Mary's, Lambeth. First officiating and wonderful interest.'

[2] The address.

A clergyman of the Oxford Diocese sends this evidence of the Bishop's private liberality.

'The Bishop heard of the pecuniary misfortunes which had fallen upon me, and from time to time sent me contributions from his private purse towards the necessarily heavy expenses of my large family. I was never more surprised in my life than when I received the first, as I had no idea that the Bishop knew of my circumstances. No less than nine different occasions did he act thus kindly, and such letters they were, rather as if I were doing him a favour in accepting than he one in contributing. From first to last he sent me some 70*l.* But what I thought was so very kind was the remembrance of me in the letter I forward. Writing from Windsor Castle—just after he had done homage, I believe, for the See of Winchester, with all the pressure of business on his mind in taking possession of his new See and arranging to give up entirely his old—that he should have thought of one who is a mere ordinary parish priest with no name in the world, and then and there sent a parting gift in the kindly expressed manner that his letter conveys, seemed to me a very great mark of his loving heart.'

The letter referred to is given :—

Windsor Castle, December 13, 1869.

My dear ——,—Let me once again ask you to let me contribute, in parting from you, this towards Christmas expenses. I am, ever yours,

S. WINTON.

And in sending aid to a curate in the diocese the Bishop thus expresses himself :—

As you mention in your note the coming of another child, and I know that such times are times of increased expense, I hope you will allow me to consider my title of Father in God

as more than merely nominal, and as a father to a son I ask you to let me send the enclosed aid for the day of need.

December 11.—At 10.15 Ernest and Sir C. Anderson came to go to Bow, where confirmed. Ceremony not affecting—rather grotesque. Then to British Museum and with Ministers to Windsor Castle. Talk with Lord Stratford—Bruce and De Grey chiefly. Did homage and then invested. Wrote till dinner: chiefly 'David.'[3]

A very different confirmation in Bow Church from the one mentioned above had taken place a short time before, when the appointment of Dr. Temple to the See of Exeter was confirmed. As this appointment caused great excitement at the time, it is necessary to allude shortly to it.

Under the Bishops' Resignation Act, Dr. Phillpotts, the aged Bishop of Exeter, resigned his see, and Mr. Gladstone nominated the Rev. F. Temple, headmaster of Rugby School, as his successor. This nomination evoked a storm of letters in the Church papers and led to the formation of a Committee to resist, if possible, Dr. Temple's appointment. Of this Committee Lord Shaftesbury was chairman and Dr. Pusey vice-chairman, the whole gravamen of the charge against Dr. Temple was that he was one of the writers in 'Essays and Reviews,' which had been synodically condemned by Convocation. As far as Dr. Temple was concerned, no one had impugned the orthodoxy of his particular essay, and it was only because the same outside cover embraced it as well as the other essays, that for once Lord Shaftesbury and Dr. Pusey, separated in everything else, were found standing side by side, facing, as they believed, the common enemy.

Bishop Wilberforce, who had ordained Dr. Temple

[3] For *Good Words*.

both Deacon and Priest, was personally satisfied with the orthodoxy of his opinions, but felt that, as long as his essay remained in the condemned work, so long was he, the writer, in a manner under the censure of Convocation, therefore the Bishop refused to be on the Commission for Dr. Temple's consecration; if Dr. Temple had then done what he afterwards did in Convocation, *i.e.* separated himself from the other writers, the Bishop's course would have been different.

The enthronement in Winchester Cathedral took place on Thursday, December 16, and this chapter may well end with Dr. Monsell's beautiful lines which were written for the occasion :—

Silence in the Great Cathedral.

There was silence deep and earnest,
By the wondering people made,
Silence in the great cathedral
As those thousands knelt and prayed.
Prayed, while he, in God their father,
Rapt in adoration there,
Low before the holy altar
Made his offering and his prayer.

Years had passed since at that altar
He, with youth's best joys replete,
All his life's most precious ointment
Poured out at his Saviour's feet ;[1]
Poured out of the broken vessel
Of a heart bow'd down but brave
That thenceforth its whole devotion
To a life of duty gave.

How that life hath kept the promise
Made in secret suffering there,
Witness now those kneeling thousands
In that fellowship of prayer ;

[1] It will be remembered that Mrs. Wilberforce died at Winchester in 1841.

Witness years of ceaseless toiling,
Weary ways unwearied trod,
Never resting, never tiring,
In the endless work of God.

Silence in the great cathedral,
Not a breath of whisper stirred,
Yet in Heaven the loud heart-voices
Of those worshippers were heard:
'Will to work'—and strength to labour,
'Souls to save'—and Christ their plea
Giver of good gifts and perfect,
Say Amen—and it shall be.

CHAPTER XII.

INTRODUCTION OF SISTERHOODS INTO OXFORD DIOCESE—LETTER TO MR. BUTLER—WANTAGE SISTERHOOD—CLEWER SISTERHOOD—LETTER TO THE SUPERIOR—THE CHAPLAIN—THE SISTERS—PERPETUAL VOWS—SPEECH AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS, 1862—SISTERHOOD IN WINCHESTER DIOCESE—STATUTES APPROVED BY THE BISHOP.

No part of the Bishop's administration of the diocese of Oxford was more remarkable than his dealings with Sisterhoods. Sisterhoods have now become so integral and so important a portion of the machinery of the Church that it is difficult to recall the extreme jealousy and suspicion which attended their revival. It is easy to trace in the support which the Bishop gave to their first beginnings the same wise and far-seeing mind as directed those steps by which the action of Convocation was recovered to the Church.

In order to understand the Bishop's line of thought on this subject it will be necessary to look back to 1848. An attempt was then made to found a Sisterhood at Wantage, the first in the diocese—which now possesses two others at Oxford, and the large and important community at Clewer. A few months previously, Miss Sellon had laid the foundations of the Devonport Sisterhood. This had been unfavourably received. There had been a burst of popular indignation, somewhat perhaps stimulated by certain peculiarities in Miss Sellon's management, which went far towards discouraging any similar attempts, and it was exactly here that the Bishop's courage and ready perception

of what the Church required was so strikingly shown. He saw the importance of the proposed work, and he was willing for the sake of this to face the kind of ignorant outcry which was almost sure to follow.

The Sisterhood of Wantage was begun by a lady of much ability, devotion, and zeal, possessed moreover of a fair fortune. She proposed to settle with two like-minded friends in Wantage, and to devote herself and her means to the life of a Sister of Mercy in the Church of England. The Bishop, who was immediately consulted as to the system to be followed and particularly as to the Chaplain for such an institution, replied as follows :—

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. W. Butler.

Cuddesdon Palace, Dec. 29, 1849.

My dear Butler,—The questions you asked me about Miss L——'s establishment were hardly definite enough for me to answer. I should like much to have a general scheme of the institution and a general outline of the proposed rules and regulations, &c., and then would gladly make any suggestions which occurred to me if they are desired. I do not know enough of —— to venture an opinion as to his fitness for a post requiring such peculiar gifts and such various graces for a man's usefulness to others and safety to himself. It needs, of course, great uprightness, tenderness, judgment, skill in dealing with souls, firmness, and patience, and all growing out of an ardent love for Christ. I quite should wish for a domestic chapel in such an establishment. I have the deepest interest in its welfare, and would do anything in my power to help its progress. Believe me to be affectionately yours,

S. OXON.

The Sisterhood began its labours by endeavouring to receive and reclaim fallen women, a work which in conjunction with many others, it still retains. For this purpose a house was obtained—and a chapel

with a communion table was licensed—six penitents were received as a first instalment, and for a time, with the Bishop's hearty and generous superintendence, all went well.

Then, however, came exactly one of those trials which would have paralysed and frightened into antagonism, or at least into withdrawal of support, any man of less courage and clear sight. Urged by her near relations, Miss L—— joined the Church of Rome, ostensibly on account of the Gorham judgment. The crisis was most serious. A work from the first suspected seemed to have fulfilled the worst prognostications of its opponents. The Bishop at once went to Wantage, entered into the whole matter, and by his wonderful energy and resource saved the infant community.

From this time the Bishop took a most active part in all that concerned the communities of Sisters in his diocese, and especially the House of Mercy at Clewer under the Rev. T. T. Carter. With the Wantage Sisterhood the Bishop had little trouble; he and Mr. Butler were much of one mind as to how such a house should be managed. Writing on Feb. 29, 1856, the Bishop says to Mr. Butler: 'I *entirely* approve and agree absolutely in your view of what a Sisterhood must be to succeed in our Church. May God give you good success in dealing with this difficult case.'[1]

The House of Mercy at Clewer began its existence in 1852; before then it had been a Penitentiary, but in that year it became a House of Mercy, consisting of a Superior and admitted Sisters. Two years after, certain questions arose as to the practice by the

[1] For the foregoing account I am indebted to the Rev. W. Butler, formerly Vicar of Wantage, and now Canon of Worcester.

Sisters of habitual confession. The three letters which follow show how the Bishop regarded the use of private confession, even when associated with a so-called religious life; but they are more important as eliciting from the Bishop what his views were as to the internal management of such institutions.

The Bishop of Oxford to Mrs. ——.

May, 1854.

My dear Mrs. ——, I will endeavour to put down, as you desire, an outline of what I said to you at Windsor about the principles on which the house at Clewer must be conducted while I am connected with it. We agreed, I think, that there are three distinct schemes on which it might be managed. There is, I., the scheme of those who would bring all our arrangements into as close an agreement as is possible with those of the Church of Rome. There is, II., that of those who, with less direct esteem for Rome, yet distinctly desire something different from the Reformed Church of England, who wish to recover things she cast aside and to cast away things which she retained at the Reformation, and who would term this imaginary system the Catholic system. There is, III., the scheme of those who believe firmly and honestly that the system of the Reformed Church of England, as they find it in Bishop Andrewes, Rd. Hooker, and many more of like views with them, is the right system, is the Catholic system; who desire to bring out into life and reality and action its principles and powers, and to abide by it when so administered, and not to develop anything different from itself. Now, it is on this third scheme, honestly, heartily and completely adopted and maintained that I can, and on this alone that I can, have any share in organising and promoting sisterhoods. If they will not work on this scheme it would be to my mind a proof that they would not work safely or profitably and accordingly I should decline further connection with them. To apply, then, this general principle to the subjects which have come into any question at Clewer, I would say that, as to the whole management of the house, it must be thus strictly and entirely Church of England. For

instance, our services, when they vary from our Church's authorised forms of public prayer, must be altogether in their spirit. The books we allow to be in common use, the religious prints, &c., we place in the rooms, or allow to be worn on the person openly, must be thoroughly Church of England; the provision we make for the spiritual teaching of sisters and penitents must be prescribed by the same rule. Thus, as to the disputed question of Confession, we must make provision that those whose consciences are burdened with any weighty matter may be able, before communicating, to open their grief to some discreet minister of God's Word and Sacraments, that by his ministry they may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice. But we must not provide that what the Church of England so manifestly treats as an occasional remedy for exceptional cases should become the established rule of their ordinary spiritual life. But here I must point out to you what appears to me a most important difference between what we provide and enjoin and what we allow or do not forbid. We must *provide* and *enjoin* what we consider to be in strict accordance with the mind of the Church of England; but as one of her leading principles is to leave a large liberty to the individual conscience, we shall be acting according to her teaching if, whilst we endeavour to lead her children to what we believe to be her mind, we do not exclude them from useful and beneficial employment because they have not attained to it. Thus I suppose that such a life as that of the sisters at Clewer is likely specially to attract those whose own religious life is framed on the second of the schemes I have above described, who would desire and probably have practised constant confession, who would wish to submit their lives to the direction of a priest, who would crave after books of Roman Catholic devotion, simple or adapted, and who would probably desire to wear and see crucifixes and the like. How, then, are such persons to be treated by us? *First*, We cannot provide for such a life, because we disapprove of it. *Secondly*, We cannot suffer it to be led as a part of the *common* life of our Sisterhood, so as to give really its colour to our institution. We cannot, *e.g.*,

allow the sisters to practise continual confession to, or erect into directors, the Warden or chaplains of our house. Nor can we allow them to use amongst their sisters, still less to lend to them, Roman Catholic books; or to wear openly, or exhibit in their rooms, images or representations which the Church of England discourages; nor can we allow them to be visited in the house by other clergy than those of our house for the carrying out by their means of any system which we do not administer through our own clergy. Further, we should, if we have reason to believe that their own religious life is formed upon another and, as we believe, a less sound model, endeavour to win them from it to what we esteem a more excellent way—showing them the great dangers of morbid excitement, of superstition, of weakening the conscience by relying on others for what it ought to do, of self-exaltation, which, as we believe, render their system so perilous. But here we must stop. Our own principles seem to me to forbid our abridging their Christian liberty or inquiring inquisitorially into its use (provided only that they do not impart that of which we disapprove by act or word to others) until they of their own accord abandon them; we must, in like manner, not attempt to bind them, during their allowed absences from the house, not to consult what spiritual advisers they choose, in their own way, as to their own personal concerns. If on these terms persons so minded are willing to stay and work with us, I would no more exclude them than I would alter our own rules or plans in order to assist them in leading the life from which we hope to draw them into what we believe to be healthier and more sober. You will understand that no alteration is to be made in our rule, but I speak throughout of the way in which you are to enforce it. I believe that the mixture of a Church of England rule, honestly administered, with a faithful abstinence from every vestige of persecution will enable you to discharge the difficult task to which, I believe, God's providence has called you. I am ever most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. T. T. Carter.

May 18, 1854.

My dear Carter,—You have, of course, seen my letter to Mrs. —— and you probably know that I have seen her to-day. After such thought as I have been able to give to the subject, I am convinced that I had better write to the sisters a distinct statement of my views and get you to put it into their hands. I am clear that it is a first duty to this great cause to see that there is no mistake as to the principles on which it is conducted by us. Now, I see plainly that Clewer has a tendency to run into a system with which I can have nothing to do; and I am clear that plain speaking is the right course. If Sisterhoods cannot be maintained except upon a semi-Romanist scheme, with its *direction*, with its development of self-consciousness and morbid religious affection, with its exaltation of the contemplative life, its perpetual Confession, and its un-English tone, I am perfectly convinced that we had better have no Sisterhoods. I may be quite wrong in my view, but it is at present a clear, strong, determined view, and so long as it is my view I can have nothing to do with any establishment which, instead of embodying that, embodies something very like its opposite. Now, my dear friend, I fear that the change of mind of which you spoke in your long letter to me is a change *from* my position to that which I *cannot* take. Now, if your views are so determined that we cannot conscientiously act together, let us boldly face the difficulty, and either one of us convince the other, or else let me retire and leave you to carry on Clewer as you will. But if I remain I *must* be assured that what I believe to be my duty to God and to His Church is faithfully and completely carried out. You *must not* let the soft influence of the women's souls with which you have to deal lead you into becoming a *director*. You must with me distinctly act, and say that Clewer is to be Church of England and *no more*. We must have no *evasions* as to Roman Catholic books, as to going at stated times to Richards and Pusey, &c. Evasion seems to me the very clinging curse of

everything Roman and Romanistic. I am ever, my dear Carter, most truly your very affectionate

S. OXON.

To the Superior and Sisters of the House of Mercy at Clewer.

London : Ascension Day, 1854.

Dearly beloved in the Lord,—I do not like to dismiss the questions concerning your body which have been lately before me without addressing directly to yourselves, as a body, a few words of affectionate greeting and exhortation.

May HE who on this day ascended up on high draw hither after Him our hearts and desires ; may HE shed on you in your labours for His sake His abundant gifts of grace.

I have already said to your Superior that, whilst our rule at Clewer must be understood by all to be truly and really formed on the model of the Church of England's life and teaching, as we may find it exemplified in such as Bishop Andrewes, I do not wish, in the particular application of that rule, to bind the individual conscience by any straiter bonds than those with which our Church has bound it. Points which she has left open we leave open in the individual spiritual life of each one of you. But our common life must be truly and honestly arranged by what you all well know to be in my judgment the Church of England type. I do not enter on the question whether I am right in my estimate ; but, holding it, I could not honestly preside over a sisterhood embodying another idea. This necessity everyone can, I think, appreciate ; and I assent gladly to a large measure of individual liberty being granted to every sister as to the management of her own spiritual life, in the undoubting confidence that you will one and all labour to maintain with me, with all truthfulness and honesty of word and act, unaltered and simple in your common life that which you know me to mean by the Church of England's rule, which will, I doubt not, afford you every aid towards the perfection of your own spiritual being.

Believe me that, as set over you in the Lord, I shall re-

joice in every opportunity of quickening and increasing your love and self-devotion, and peace, and joy, and charity. May the blessing of the Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, rest upon you now and evermore. I am your faithful friend,

S. OXON.

What the Bishop meant by 'individual liberty being granted to every sister as to the management of her own spiritual life,' is shown by an extract from a letter to Mr. Butler written at this period :—

There is one point as to which I have arrived as to Clewer. It is that, whilst we admit no strange clergy *in* the house, we ask no questions as to the spiritual advice the sisters seek and obtain during their permitted absences from the house, provided it concerns *only* their own spiritual welfare.

The two following letters were written to different clergymen and are given as they show most clearly what the Bishop's opinions were regarding perpetual vows.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

April 14, 1850.

My dear Sir,—I have not till to-day had time to read with care the proposed rules of your proposed Sisterhood. I have to-day read the first page and no more. For I am bound to say that I so utterly disapprove of all that meets me on that first page that I thought it best to read no further. When I first met with such names as 'professed,' &c., I trusted that these were only the names to object to, and that this objection might easily be removed. But as I read on I found to my great grief that these were realities as well as names of evil sound to which I must utterly object. I object, then, absolutely, as un-Christian and savouring of the worst evils of Rome, to the vows involved in such a context in the statement as, 'She is for ever consecrated to the service of her heavenly Spouse.' I object to the expression itself as unwarranted by God's Word and savouring of one of the most carnal perver-

sions of the Church of Rome. The Scriptures speak of Christ as being the Husband of 'the Church His Spouse,' not of several women, in their individual Christian being, having any right to regard themselves as spouses of the Lord. I am bound, therefore, in Christian openness, to say, (1) that I utterly disapprove of these rules, and protest, in the name of Christ, as the chief pastor of His flock in this diocese, against you or any of my clergy sanctioning their adoption by any member of our apostolical communion. (2) That I add my solemn warning that such tampering with the language, acts, and temper of the Church of Rome in young women of our communion must tend to betray them into infidelity to their mother Church, and to perversion to the Papal (in this land) schismatical and corrupt communion. I am, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. ——.

Nov. 21, 1854.

My dear Mr. ——, It is not possible for me to read the account you have given me of this young person without great interest and a deep sympathy in her religious desires. Gladly would I strengthen by any allowed ministrations of mine such holy purposes and acts. But when you ask me to give her the apostolical benediction on her 'public resolution of chastity and devotion to Christ,' you ask me to do what, with my sense of the certain danger and probable unlawfulness of vows which Christ has not appointed, it is quite impossible for me to do. Such a *resolution* made *publicly* and in appearance and intention confirmed by a Bishop's act is, whatever distinction may be discovered by an ingenious mind, really, and *bonâ fide, a vow.* A *secret* resolution can only bind a person *sub modo.* But such a *public* and official engagement, if it means anything, means that without the like sanction the engagement will not be relaxed. Now, even a secret resolution of chastity, &c., is what I should dissuade.

No one has, without God's express appointment, a right, in my judgment, to bind themselves for the future in such matters. Let them follow the guiding hand of God from day

to day and rely for persevering in a course of right or service on His daily gifts of guiding, enlightening, strengthening grace, and not on the strength or effect of any past vow or resolution. As, then, such a benediction as you ask would, in my judgment, seem to confirm by a dangerous vow an unwarranted resolution, I must of course, with real regret, decline your request. I am very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

The letters given above did not still the agitation for perpetual vows, as a diary entry in 1860 shows.

November 30.—Clewer. Early Communion, and admission of three sisters—two rejected—would not consent to altering rule about *no vows*.

Again, writing to a lady in 1867, the Bishop says :—

I see nothing in the sister's life which is at all Roman, if vows of perpetual obligation are not taken. I allow no such vows in any Sisterhood which is in any way responsible to me.

At the Church Congress held in Oxford in 1862, the Bishop thus expresses himself on this point :—

It seems to me that there has been a universal assent to this—that there are great Christian works to be done by Christian women, for the love of Christ, giving themselves to Him ; that it is most desirable that this should be recognised and that there should be the shelter of system and authority, as far as possible, given to those who do so devote themselves to that life ; to the one the shelter of authority, and to the other the aid of system ; that these are offerings acceptable to God, according to the mind of the English Church, lost to a great degree among us in time past, and for the revival of which among us we humbly and heartily thank God. I think so far we are agreed—but if it were to be imagined from the silence of any that those who were silent went on to approve in the first place of vows of celibacy being made for life ; or, secondly, of the taking vows of celibacy for a fixed time by those who give themselves to

that life, I believe it would be an entire mistake of the meeting. I am bound to say this, in order that there may be no mistake of one holding the office God has given me, that I should not have felt at liberty to take any part in the engagements of any Sisterhood of which such vows formed a part—because, firstly, I see no warrant for them in the Word of God—and it would seem to me that to encourage persons to make vows for which there is no distinct promise given that they should be able to keep them would be entangling them in a yoke of danger; secondly, because it seems to me that our Church has certainly discouraged such vows; and thirdly, because it seems to me really to be of the essence of such a religious life that it should be continued, not because in a moment of past fervour a vow was made, but because by a continual life of love that life is *again and again* freely offered to that service to which it was originally dedicated. I feel, therefore, that I may venture to say that, instead of the perpetual vows representing the higher, it is the admission of a lower standard. . . . I believe that the abuses of that life have come, first from the promises of *perpetuity*, and secondly, from the abuse connected with the admission of persons having *property* and being led to give that property up in a moment of excitement to this purpose. If we are able through God's grace to keep this movement from these and like faults, we, and our children after us, may humbly thank God for the revival of this order amongst us.

One single word on the use of the term 'religious.' I confess that I have the very deepest objection in any way whatever to applying the word 'religious' to such a life. I think it was adopted at a time when the standard of lay piety was very low, and at all events, as no good seems to me to be got by the use of a word ambiguous at least in its meaning, and which seems to imply that God can be better served in the unmarried Sisterhood than in the blessed and holy state of matrimony, I think it is a pity it should be used.

Mr. Butler[2] says: 'Most tenderly and delicately the

[2] The Rev. W. Butler, Canon of Worcester, who, during the Bishop's epi-

Bishop enforced his opinions, so that in many delicate and complicated questions we always felt that, whether his mind was or was not entirely the same as our own, we should ever be sure of a fair hearing and of his desire to work with us, and even to yield his own wishes, except of course where principle forbade this. Nothing could be kinder, wiser, or more large-hearted than the line which he adopted; and it is certainly not too much to assert, that to him our English Sisterhoods owe their present position of usefulness and acceptance. Instead of standing apart and waiting till they had made their way, he, with his characteristic determination to be the real ἐπίσκοπος or overseer of all religious movements in his diocese, took the matter into his own hands without in the least quenching or thwarting the zeal and the ideas of those who gave the first impulse. At least once every year he visited the sisters, considered their rules, sometimes spoke to each separately, weighed difficult cases, and received into the community those who had been elected. Part of the profession consisted of an address, and none who were present will ever forget the earnestness and love with which he urged loyalty to the Church, simplicity of life, unity of feeling and action, and, above all, the working from the single motive of the love of Christ. On one occasion he invited to Cuddesdon the heads of several of the Communities, to consider the general question of Sisterhoods, and to arrive at some common principle of action. Had he lived till the present time, he would, I think, have been surprised at the results which have followed his loving and fatherly treatment of these institutions, their gradual acceptance by the Church—and the mass of services of every

scopate in the Oxford diocese, was in constant communication with him on this subject.

kind—missionary, pastoral, educational, penitentiary, which by the discipline and self-sacrifice of those who belong to them—they are able to perform.'

On Wednesday, February 12, 1862, on the occasion of an Address presented to the Upper House of Convocation from the Lower House on the subject of Sisterhoods, a debate arose, remarkable chiefly for its unanimity in expressing approval of the excellence of the self-denying life to which these women had devoted themselves. In the course of this debate, it was suggested as necessary that these establishments should be under rules, and that much benefit would accrue to the Church if a set of rules could be drawn up for all Sisterhoods. The Bishop of Oxford moved a resolution concurring with the Address from the Lower House, as follows:—

> That this House has read and considered the address of the Lower House as to the devotion of themselves by Christian women within the Church of England to works of piety and charity.

This was seconded by the Bishop of St. David's, and gave rise to a short discussion on the meaning which the word 'devotion' might convey. The Bishop of London pointed out that the word might be understood to mean 'vow,' and said: 'Anything like a "vow" on the part of individuals to devote themselves to this work is the last thing we should recommend. It is most desirable that this should be clearly understood.' This gave the Bishop of Oxford an opportunity of publicly stating what his practice had been in connection with Sisterhoods in his own diocese. He said: 'In my diocese I have uniformly made it the condition of my connection with these institutions that their statutes shall state explicitly that the inmates

are bound only so long as they please to continue in the society.'

At the Church Congress held at Oxford in July of this year, Dr. Pusey, in a paper which he read, thanked the Bishop for having successfully restrained Convocation from legislating or attempting legislation on this matter, because any code of rules that had then been drawn up must have had a narrowing effect, for no code could embrace both the higher and the lower standard, and of necessity they must have been adapted to the lower standard. In his opinion, rules were best made by experience.

During the few years the Bishop presided over the diocese of Winchester he only had to deal with one institution of this sort. His dealing with it, however, proves in a remarkable way how little his opinions regarding the rules of English Sisterhoods changed. The statutes regulating St. Thomas's Home, Elson, near Gosport, were drawn under the personal supervision of the Bishop and may be fairly said to represent his matured opinions. Some of the principal statutes are here summarised.

The Warden was to be chosen by the Bishop from three names to be submitted to him by the Council.

There were to be two classes of sisters—full sisters and probationary—but neither of these were to be admitted, if under 30 years of age, without the full consent in writing of parents and guardians, and such admission was to be subject to the confirmation of the Visitor.

No sister of either class was to take any vow of celibacy or poverty; they were to be admitted with a service approved of by the Bishop, and they were to have full and uncontrolled liberty to leave whenever they might think fit. They were, however, permitted

to sign a form of obedience to the statutes during their residence in the Home, and they might wear a distinctive dress. None of these rules could be altered unless by a three-fourths majority in the Council, and not then unless the Bishop agreed to the change.

CHAPTER XIII.

(1870.)

THE WINCHESTER DIOCESE—BISHOP'S RESIGNATION BILL—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. GLADSTONE—THE DIARY—THE IRISH LAND BILL—REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—LETTERS TO AND FROM MR. GLADSTONE—RULES FOR REVISION—WHAT OUGHT TO BE ALTERED AND WHAT NOT—THE WESTMINSTER SCANDAL—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE UTTERANCE UPON—VISITATION OF CHANNEL ISLANDS — VISIT TO M. GUIZOT — FIRST FUNCTION IN CHANNEL ISLANDS—CONFIRMATIONS—FIRST ORDINATION IN ISLANDS—RETURN TO ENGLAND—ALARMING ILLNESS—DEATH OF MRS. E. WILBERFORCE—DIOCESAN.

The Diary records that 'the year 1870 began with work in the diocese; at Redhill with good old Cazenove. Saw poor man's Church—preached.' '*January* 5—(*Lavington.*)—Too wet for the shooting. Duke of Richmond came—will not lead. Lord Cairns to begin. Thinks Derby will after.'

January 12.—(*Lavington.*)—To station by 7.7. Wrote. London: Ritual Commission. At 2.15 meeting for South London distress. Walked with Bishop of Gloucester to Pall Mall. Then clergy to licence. Then with dear A. Cust to Penge Church.

This letter to Sir Arthur Gordon has reference principally to the new diocese.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Hon. Arthur Gordon.

Lavington House: January 16, 1870.

You must not let the change of name make you think that one single link of the old chain is loosened. Rather as life goes on does it seem to me that the old affections deepen and the old chains of love become more firmly rivetted.

You ask me to tell you about the change. I have been welcomed into the new diocese with a warmth I was scarcely prepared to find. But it has at present been a vast increase of labour. Things had of necessity got a good deal out of gear in the old age, and latterly, illness of my predecessor: and *every*where there seem to be arrears. Then South London is a tremendous charge. I have absolutely refused to take any work outside the diocese, and I mean to continue to do so. The learning the *personnel* of the clergy of such a diocese of real knowledge requires great exertion of many kinds: do. of the parishes: do. of the squires, &c. This is in a great measure my present work: and till it is mastered I do not much mind not having Farnham. This house commands a large part of the south of the Diocese—Reigate, Guildford, Petersfield, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight. And I am more at liberty to go and stay with my squires, all of whom press me to come and see them at home. I have been with Lord Carnarvon, Lord Eversley, Sir H. Mildmay, &c., and am setting off on Friday for Sir W. Heathcote's, Lord Malmesbury's, and the Duke of Wellington's. This will bring me to the meeting of Parliament, by which time I hope to establish myself at Winchester House. I envy you having seen Kingsley in his first enjoyment of true tropical beauty. I greatly rejoice in having him in the diocese. You tell me nothing of your movements. Are you not coming home very soon on your way to Mauritius?[1] Gladstone has produced a very unwholesome and threatening excitement by the appointment of Temple. With a very high opinion of Temple personally, I deeply regret the appointment, because he has so obstinately refused to part himself from the Essays and Reviews in their censured parts.

The correspondence which follows between Mr. Gladstone and the Bishop has reference to a Bill introduced by the Bishop into the House of Lords for enabling clergymen to resign their livings when incapacitated by age or infirmity from performing their duties. Owing to the pressure of business occasioned

[1] To which colony Sir Arthur had been appointed Governor.

by the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill, the Bill was not brought into the House of Commons in time to pass through that House. It became law in 1871.

The Bishop sent the draft of the Bill to Lord Westbury, asking him to revise and hoping that he would support it. This drew forth a very characteristic reply. Lord Westbury said he would cordially support the Bill, but added, that he perceived the Bishop referred to 'diseases of the mind.' This, he said, was a difficulty, because, in the first place, there could be no such thing as disease of the mind, and secondly, if there were, he had never yet met a clergyman, 'with the exception of your lordship, who had a mind.'

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Hursley Park : January 22, 1870.

My dear Gladstone,—*You* suggested to me getting Convocation to agree on a Bill for the resignation of the Clergy. Here, in strict confidence, is the result. I have no doubt of being able to get this agreed to with little or no change. I should propose to bring it into the House of Lords.

But I wish first to know confidentially from you (1) whether you approve of it, and (2) whether or no you would think well to adopt it. I hope you have regained strength before your great work begins.

There is another matter on which I should like to know your mind. The Bishop of Gibraltar writes for my advice on a suggestion from the American Bishops there that we should send one of *our* body to meet an American Bishop and endeavour together to open conferences and negotiations with the Italian clergy dissatisfied with the Papacy as to their interior reformation. I am *not* much inclined to such a movement, but would attempt anything which you thought desirable in the matter. I am, most truly, yours affectionately,

S. WINTON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

January 24, 1870.

1. I hold to the opinion that Clergy Resignation is a good subject to work upon. Then I have these ideas—(*a*) Any Bill should spring from the Episcopal fountainhead, as did the Bill of last year, not from the Government. (*b*) It should follow as closely as possible the framework of last year's Act, only with some more securities on account of the much greater risk of abuse. I doubt if you should provide for any cases except those provided for last year. Certainly the words 'for any other cause' seem to me too wide. (*c*) It would not be possible to tie the Government in the first instance to the details of a Bill—had you not better therefore invite Convocation to adopt an outline of scheme rather than a ready-made measure?

2. I should think any question of dealing with dissatisfied Italian Clergy could not as yet be ripe for handling by any English Bishop, and that it had better remain, as you seem to think, in other hands.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Clapham Common: Holy Thursday.

My dear Gladstone,—Many thanks for your very kind note. I am very sorry not to have seen you. But I only got your note as I passed from a long morning service to come on to a Confirmation here, where I sleep. I am to be at the Jerusalem Chamber to-morrow at 11 till 5 in the chair of the Ritual Commission: so that I fear it will be scarcely possible for you to see me. I will come at once at 5 to any place which you may appoint.

As to the Clergy Retiring Bill, I have sent that draft round to every Bishop, and received answers from a large proportion to two questions I sent with it—I. Are you of opinion it should be introduced into the House of Lords? II. Have you amendments to suggest? I have a consensus as to introducing it and no formidable amendments. My

intention, unless you dissuade, is to introduce it as soon as possible. It is very greatly desired by the Clergy.

As to the Education Bill, I think there is a very strong feeling amongst the Clergy against excluding formularies from *the House* which the Conscience Clause is to guard. I read your answer most carefully in the 'Telegraph.' I see the danger of schools on the modified Christian instruction principle to be exceedingly great. I am very affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

May 17, 1870.

1. With regard to the Resignation Bill, if you feel confidence that the difficulties of detail inherent in the subject have been satisfactorily dealt with, I know no reason why you should not try it in the House of Lords, unless it be that the block of business this year would probably prevent its passing the Commons if it were to become the subject of any serious contest.

I presume that you propose it on behalf of the Upper House of Convocation as well as the Lower: could you get the assent of the Northern Bishops, or of the Archbishop and one or two others, it would be a great advantage. I would mention it in Cabinet on the next or any following Saturday; but the main point to which the Government would look in the first instance would probably be whether the Bill proceeded from and represented the Episcopal mind, in the same sense as this might be said of the measure of last year. I have not examined the Bill with any care (I now return it), partly from the heavy pressure of business, but in part also because I think there is no advantage in my attempting to consider its particular provisions at the present stage.

The few diary extracts which follow are given as being typical of the first three and a half months of this year. With one exception, the Bishop was during this time entirely occupied with the new diocese. The

exception was a sermon at Oxford on February 20. The diary records his going down to preach. 'The old Diocese; *very* low; kindness everywhere.' One curiously significant word frequently, almost regularly, occurs during this period, and that is 'stream.' Every morning at Winchester House, as the writer well remembers, this stream set in, generally during breakfast, and continued till the afternoon. Writing, dictating, and seeing man after man, was the ever-recurring morning occupation, then occasionally a hurried luncheon, generally none, and then the Bishop set off—riding when fine, driving at other times—into South London, for Confirmations, Church openings, school openings, speech-making, organising the South London Fund, working up the heavy arrears entailed by the long illness of his predecessor. It is no wonder that the diary frequently records 'much wearied.' Even at this early stage the work was beginning to tell upon the Bishop's unwearying energy.

March 27.—Prepared sermon on miracle of loaves. Preached at St. George's, Camberwell. Luncheon after with S. Smith. To St. James's: heard Liddon on sin—a most admirable sermon. May I be the better for it, O Lord. Went home with Anderson.

April 7.—Morning, wrote. Saw some. To Ecclesiastical Commission. Rode to St. Mark's, Kennington—confirmed. Rode to St. Jude's, Peckham. Coming back to House of Lords, knee hurt by shaft of cart. Colonial Bishops' council. Took A— to House of Commons.

April 9.—Wrote. Stream. Rode to S. Giles', Camberwell: nice Confirmation. Took A— to French Exhibition, &c. We all dined *en famille* at the Hopes': very friendly indeed.

April 10.—Off in Cazenove's carriage, kindly sent, for St. John's, Clapham. Then with Nicholl to Battersea. Preached on Judas. Luncheon, and down to Church of poor

St. John's. Preached on Joy in Heaven. Back to Chapel Royal. Walked with Reg.: very tired.

April 11.—To Portsmouth. Walked on Southsea Common. Preached at Garrison Chapel. Then confirmed till 7.30. Much wearied.

April 12.—Morning prayer and Confirmation. Luncheon at the 'George' with Mayor Sheppard; Sir J. Hope, Admiral Commander-in-chief; Admiral Key, Dockyard. Then to Alverstoke: Confirmation; address. To Elson: Confirmation. Dined at Walpole's—one or two of the clergy there.

To the Archbishop of Dublin the Bishop writes on April 17 from Ockley Court, Dorking:—

I am here to open a Church, having not yet had one day's holiday. I go on hence to Lavington till Tuesday next, when work begins again.

April 21.—(*Lavington.*) Alarm of fire on the Common. Rode quickly down. Found Graffham Common in a blaze. The roar terrible. A wonderful sight. At last got together hands, and, Reg. helping, drew lines and burnt inward, and stopped it when about half burnt.

April 30.—Many to see. British Museum. To St. Matthew's, Denmark Hill: Confirmation. Rode home. Wrote, and to Academy dinner: Gladstone, Motley, and C. Dickens spoke well; Disraeli came and shook hands.

This extract from a letter to Miss Thornton, the only surviving friend of the Bishop's childhood, has reference to the last entry.

May 28.

Yes, Lothair is all you say. But my wrath against D. has burnt before this so fiercely that it seems to have burnt up all the materials for burning and to be like an exhausted prairie fire—full of black stumps, burnt grass, and all abominations.

A few extracts from the diary after Easter are:

June 8.—To London after breakfast. Letters. Rode to Horticultural: orchids wonderful. Dined Sir A. Roths-

child's, taking Gladstones: grand party; Duke of —— coarse; I changed my place. Talk with Princess, who charming.

June 17.—Wrote with Woodford all day till House of Lords—101 letters—rather cleared score. Carried Bill a stage.

June 18.—Up early, and got sermon ready on Four-and-twenty elders fell down. With Woodford for Richmond. Consecrated Trinity Church: all encouraging. Back to London with Archdeacon, and met Wallis at station about St. Anne's, Bermondsey. Wrote. Rode to Mr. Holford's and in Park. Dined, Duke of Cleveland, Duchess of Cambridge, &c.

June 23.—Early Communion. Keble College opening: spoke. Back to All Souls' for luncheon, and then to Magdalen. With President to Nuneham, where great party of friends—all kind. Wrote. At dinner, small party, but all lively, good, and kind.

It will be noticed with what pleasure the Bishop always revisited the Oxford diocese.

The next letters refer to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

June 20, 1870.

My dear Bishop of Winchester,—I venture earnestly to beg that, if you are able to contrive it, you will devote some time to the House of Lords during the Committee on the Irish Land Bill, which commences on Thursday next, and that you will give such consideration as you may think fit to the important questions which are likely to be brought under discussion.

On an ordinary question of politics, indeed on any question of mere politics, I should hesitate long before venturing to make to a Prelate of the Church any request urging him to give attention to or take part in the proceedings on a particular measure. But I consider the Irish Land Bill to stand by itself; it really appertains not so much to the well-being as to the

being of civilised society, for the existence of society can hardly be such as to deserve that name, until the conditions of peace and order and of mutual goodwill and confidence shall have been more firmly established in Ireland. Believe me most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W.E Gladstone.

University Museum, Oxford,
Department of Medicine : June 22, 1870.

My dear Gladstone,—I should always find the greatest difficulty in *not* attending to any desire of yours; and in this case I so fully appreciate the distinction you point to between mere political party divisions and those which involve the completeness of a national peace-offering, that I am prepared to throw on you the whole responsibility of the *details* of a measure the principle of which has been admitted, and to support your Government throughout. In this view I have paired off with the Bishop of Rochester for Thursday and *Friday*, and believe I have done well in doing so. For though at great inconvenience I *could* come up for Thursday, I could not for Friday, being by long engagement to be received as Visitor of St. John's College, and the members of the College having been summoned from all quarters to meet me. Now, I suppose that you are most likely to have your most important division on Friday, and as the Bishop of Rochester meant to attend and would have voted against you, I hope you will think that I have made the best arrangement I could. If you will send me *one* line to Nuneham, Abingdon, it will be a comfort to me. I am ever affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

On February 10 the Bishop in Convocation moved this resolution for the revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament :—

To appoint a Joint Committee of both Houses, that is, of the Upper and Lower Houses of this Province, with power to confer with any Committee that may be appointed by the

Convocation of the Northern Province, to report on the desirableness of a revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Greek text originally adopted by the Translators or in the translation made by the same, shall, on due investigation, be found to exist.

This resolution was agreed to, and the outcome of it was that a Revision Committee was appointed, which completed its work in the year 1882. The alterations which have been made are so various and manifold that it is well to record the words used by the Bishop in moving the above resolution, to show what changes he contemplated, and how jealously he would have excluded those alterations which, to use his own words, destroyed the 'ring of familiarity' to the ordinary reader.

I should deprecate exceedingly any attempt at a new translation, beginning at the beginning and going on to the end. Anything which threw away the translation around which I suppose almost all our religious feelings, from the very earliest times, have grown and around which they gather still—anything shocking or that would shock these feelings in our minds, is not at all what I contemplate. In the words of the motion which I propose, it is thrown out that these things may be put into the margin—a note at the side, to say what the authority is, as we believe, for any such doubtful reading, whence it came, and whatever proper rendering ought to be adopted. I should not wish at all to see alterations made which might make what is called the present grammar more perfect—the change of 'that' into 'which' and the like. We might in that way introduce a great number of alterations, and change the ring, if I may so call it, of the document; but I should object very strongly to that. I would only change those passages in which there is reason to believe that either from the text used in the translation there crept some real error into the

material of the book itself, or that there was from the language employed something which conveyed a wrong impression to the reader's mind. I should strongly oppose the striking out of archaisms or anything which gave to the ordinary reader the ring of familiarity and ancient reverence for that beautiful book—that most beautiful and inestimable book which we have received from our fathers.

The letters which passed between Mr. Gladstone and the Bishop on this subject, given below, show what difficulties and dangers they both anticipated should the initiative, with regard to the composition of the Committee for the Revision of the New Testament, be taken by the State instead of by the Episcopate. Mr. Buxton's question, referred to in these letters, related to the appointment of a Royal Commission for Revision.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

February 21, 1870.

My dear Bishop of Winchester,—Lord Shaftesbury having written to me in relation to a question of which Mr. Buxton has given notice, I have sent him a reply of which I enclose a copy. I must own myself totally at a loss to see how the preliminary difficulty of *composing* the Commission, if a Crown Commission, could be surmounted. Believe me affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to Lord Shaftesbury.

Carlton House Terrace : February 21, 1870.

My dear Shaftesbury,—Mr. Buxton's question stands for March 18, and any answer to be given to it on the part of the Government will be carefully considered beforehand.

Some short time back the Bishops of Winchester and Gloucester referred to me on the same subject. I was rather startled by the inquiry. I answered, however, that no pledge

could be given by me on the part of the Government, that I did not think they would be disposed to stand in the way of a general desire, but neither would they, I thought, be responsible for any initiative in stirring the question, or be disposed to take it up as a contested one.

This was from an official point of view. Speaking as an individual, I may add that the more I think upon the subject, the more I am impressed with the difficulties of any interference *by authority* either for the purpose of settling a Greek Text or for the purpose of altering the present version of Holy Scripture. To all private labourers with a view to either purpose I give a hearty sympathy; and such labours may render possible hereafter what I cannot see my way to now.

I am glad to observe that Mr. Blakeley in to-day's 'Times' appears to point in this direction and to argue that the present version became authorised on account of its excellence, and was not formed under State authority. It is, in my mind, not a little remarkable that, at the time of the Council of Trent, the Roman Church found it expedient to leave open (according to Father Paul) the question of the authentic text of the Vulgate; and that in 1870 the Pope and his myrmidons, when they are apparently bold enough for most things, yet have not attempted either this or the handling of the Greek Text. Yours sincerely,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

February 22, 1870.

My dear Gladstone,—Many thanks for letting me see your letter to Lord Shaftesbury. I thought your objection to a Royal Commission at the present time unanswerable; and for that reason took the course you have probably seen in Convocation.

This *must* occupy a very considerable time; it also leaves for consideration: 1. Whether *any* step is desirable. 2. What steps.

Of course I was not privy to Buxton's notice. But the knowledge, *before I moved*, that the Broad party were about to move, convinced me of the wisdom of *our* moving and having the matter in our hands. C. Buxton's question is one of the set of troublesome movements I expected. My own impression is that it will be best to keep the *text* unaltered and put any corrections into the margin. Thence by slow degrees they may migrate into the text. I would not give up our translation for anything—nor have I the faintest idea of the Bishop of St. David's vision of a final, once for all, revision.

The only need at last for State authority will be for the Queen's printers to be allowed to print what the Church has adopted as the Authorized Version. I hope you will be able to tell me (perhaps to-morrow evening) that you do not think this very rash.

It is quite another matter for the Pope *authoritatively* to fix a text.

So you have, as I forewarned you, Chichester to give away. I long, in that county of my residence so near the Cathedral, for a man with whom I can happily work and live. May God guide you. I am affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

The rules which were drawn up for the guidance of the Committee were in accordance with the Bishop's statement. Two of them only need be given.

1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness.

2. To limit, as far as possible, the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English Versions.

How far these rules were carried into effect, those who have carefully compared the new Version with the old can judge for themselves.

On July 14 the Bishop attended the first meeting of the Revision Committee of the New Testament, of which Committee he was appointed permanent chairman, and the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol vice-

chairman. Bishop Wilberforce, owing to the enormous pressure of work forced upon him by the diocese over which he then presided, was unable to take any part in the work of the Committee; he was only present on this day, and then only for a short time.

Before this meeting an occurrence had taken place, which at the time created a considerable stir. In June the Dean of Westminster, who had at the time of the Pan-Anglican Synod refused the use of the Abbey to that body who sought it with the object that any members of the Synod who so desired might, before beginning their deliberations, receive the Holy Communion there, issued a notice to *all* the members of the Revision Committee, that there would be a celebration of the Holy Communion at half past eleven o'clock on June 22 in King Henry VII.'s Chapel. The result was, that among those who presented themselves was the Rev. G. Vance Smith, an Unitarian minister, who, on account of his great learning, had been appointed a member of the Committee.[2] Bishop Wilberforce was not present at this service, being detained by his diocesan engagements. He, of course, with others received the invitation to be present, and thought that such an invitation had only been issued to those members of the Committee who belonged to the Church of England.

On July 5 Convocation discussed what was afterwards called the 'Westminster scandal,' and on that occasion Bishop Wilberforce publicly stated his opinion on it as follows:—

I am bound to say, without entering upon any other

[2] When Mr. V. Smith was appointed to the Committee, Bishop Wilberforce was not present; only nine members of the Revision Committee appointed by Convocation were present, and Mr. Vance Smith was elected by a majority of one.

question, that I deeply lament that any one professing not only to hold but to be the teacher of a doctrine so dishonouring to Our Lord and Saviour as the denial of His Godhead,[3] joined in that act of Holy Communion of our Church, with the Bishops of that Church.[4] I do most deeply lament that such should have been the case.

The Bishop's private opinions can be gathered from the next letter.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D.

Meon Stoke: July 16, 1870.

My dear Liddon,—What can be done in this most miserable business? My own conviction is *nothing*—and that I should only increase the evil by my own distinct and, as I find on every side, thoroughly apprehended disclaimer of all fellowship with the mischief.

It seems to me that the Bishops I heard in Convocation (the worst, except Bath and Wells, who was thoroughly unsound, was said before I joined it, from marrying Lady E. Nelson) were all *meaning* to justify themselves by showing that they had no part in sending the invitation, and had no means or right of inquiry who were admitted by the authorities of the Abbey to the Communion. Now, anything which leads to more defence on their part, arising from one of themselves, would, I fear, only increase the evil. So, though my heart is sick about it, I see nothing to do. The Dean of Westminster is the real offender and cause of the evil.

I could not be in London Thursday evening from a long-standing diocesan engagement here. But I grieve at the episcopal utterance. Still in my own conviction of the probability of a delayed measure being worse than this makes

[3] In justice to Dr. Vance Smith, it ought to be stated that on August 4, he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he stated that he had never denied the Divinity of our Lord.

[4] The Bishops of Ely and Salisbury were present and received the Holy Communion.

me very doubtful as to the right course. I shall be very glad of any suggestions you can send to help me.

What a heart-saddening time it is on every side. And this addition of an European war is terrible. I am to be at Southsea with Basil to-morrow; Monday at Winchester House for a Diocesan Synod on Tuesday; and, as at present fixed, set off on Thursday for the Channel Islands. I am ever very affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

This letter to Mr. Gordon furnishes another illustration of the great increase of the Bishop's labour occasioned by the new diocese. As will be seen, Mr. Gordon arrived in England in time to accompany the Bishop to M. Guizot's.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Hon. Arthur Gordon.

July 15, 1870.

My heartiest welcome to your approaching footsteps—and God's blessing to you on your return. I suppose you will stay with us some time. At this moment I am hunted to death by the business of this great Diocese—FAR worse than the last. I am here for an opening yesterday. I go on to-day to Southsea, where Basil has a curacy, for two sermons to-morrow, and get back on Monday to London to receive Archdeacons and Rural Deans, 34 in number, for dinner and Synod Monday and Tuesday; and as at present fixed I set off Thursday for Normandy and Guizot on my way to the Channel Islands for Confirmations, &c. How I wish you would go with me to Guizot's!

VISIT TO THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY.

Early in the year the Bishop determined to visit the Channel Islands in the course of the ensuing summer, and invited me to accompany him. With the

view of avoiding the long sea-passage from Weymouth, and of accomplishing a promised visit to M. Guizot at Val Richer, he resolved to pass through Normandy and to cross from Granville to Jersey—the Government boat the 'Dasher' having been placed at his disposal. We started on July 21, not without some misgivings as to our progress through France, as the war with Germany had commenced and the ordinary traffic of the various railways was already disorganised by the conveyance of troops. Crossing from Folkestone, we reached Amiens late at night. On the following morning we were in the cathedral at a quarter-past five o'clock, and having spent an hour there, left by the seven o'clock train for Rouen. At Rouen we were joined by Sir A. Gordon, who was also to be M. Guizot's guest. From this time the Bishop began thoroughly to enjoy the expedition. Diocesan cares were each day, under the influence of new scenes, falling more into the distance. The arrival of Sir A. Gordon, who had before stayed at Val Richer, freed him at once from certain feelings of diffidence which, notwithstanding his perpetual visiting from house to house, always clung to him when going to a new place. He had from the first anticipated with great interest, and now looked forward with unmixed pleasure to the being domesticated in a great French household and the collecting information from the retired statesman as to the real feelings of the French people with regard to the war. Accordingly, we had scarcely been welcomed by our host and conducted by him into the drawing-room, the chief ornaments of which were two life-size portraits of Louis-Philippe and his Queen, than the subject of the war was opened. 'I am come,' said the Bishop, 'to be instructed by you as to what I ought to think about it.' The conversation which

followed is thus recorded in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, which the Bishop wrote immediately upon our retiring to his private room.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

Val Richer: July 23, 1870.

My dear Gladstone,—You will like a few words about my host. He looks a very little older in body—in power and quickness of mind, fulness of memory, in readiness and retentiveness of affection not a day older. He spoke with great affection and great admiration of you. 'Mr. Gladstone is such an honest man.' He has been closely watching your course as Prime Minister. He spoke of the death of so many of our Peelite party, and said, 'The men are dead, the party governs.' He talked freely of the war, &c. 'We were altogether right. Prussia was altogether wrong until the last hour. In Prussia it was a political intrigue; a plot. We had succeeded; if we had been quiet, all the gain would have been ours. Our last act was wrong. The war as a war is not popular—we have got to love peace. A plebiscite would have been by a vast majority against war. But France is a soldier, and once in war our whole soul is in it. Then France hates Prussia—she has no other national hate. The long surviving feeling against England, from our long war, is dead. Against Austria, Russia, America, we have no bad feeling. But hatred to Prussia is a deep French feeling. All our Norman peasants here are strong for peace, but if a Prussian war came near them they would rise to a man with enthusiasm. I hope the war will be left as a duel, and that a great victory of France will end it. Denmark will join when we have won the first victory. France is more ready for war, though the Prussian reserves are more trained than ours. I know that the plan of the Prussian campaign is to retreat and fight on the defensive. But we are sending a large force into the Baltic, and that will make a most serious diversion for Prussia. Now tell me about your own young men.' We talked of Salisbury and one or two more, and he

said, 'I do not want to know about one and another. I want to hear of a class of young men rising up.' I write all this down soon after coming up to my room, because I think that it will interest you. I am here on my way to Guernsey and Jersey for Confirmations, &c. I am ever yours, very affectionately,

S. WINTON.

I forgot to record one interesting part of Guizot's conversation. He said strongly 'that it was not a war for increase of territory: that France had a misgiving as to the right of the war as it was—but would not endure the increase of territory.'

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

July 27, 1870.

My dear Bishop of Winchester,—One line to thank you very heartily for your account of Guizot's most interesting conversation.

His view of England is more comforting than his view of the war.

It is not for me to distribute praise and blame: but I think the war as a whole, and the state of things out of which it has grown, deserve a severer condemnation than any which the nineteenth century has exhibited since the Peace of 1815. Yours affectionately,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The week spent at Val Richer was indeed to the Bishop one of singular delight. The arrangements of the day exactly suited him. The *déjeuner* at half-past eleven o'clock, being the first meeting of the family, gave him several undisturbed hours for writing. Then came the afternoon walk to some château or other place of interest in the neighbourhood. The dinner hour, not so late as in England, left ample time for a long evening on the terrace, to which we always adjourned, the weather being perfect, for coffee and

liqueurs, and where we outsate the twilight, drawing from the rich stores of the old statesman's memory reminiscences of earlier French political history as well as of more recent events in which he had himself been concerned. I remember the touching way in which he described one incident in the Revolution of 1848. 'Paris,' he said, 'was in the hands of the mob. The Queen had been seconding the Minister in his endeavour to prevail upon the King to sign the order for the troops to act. I drew the order and presented it for signature. The King took the pen in his hands, began to write—then hesitated, and finally gave back the paper unsigned.' 'And the Queen?' I asked. 'Ah!' replied M. Guizot, 'she was wife first—Queen second. She said no more.'

Another frequent subject of discussion was the religious condition of France—the alienation of the upper classes from the Church—the priesthood wholly drawn from the lower orders. 'I know,' our host once said, 'that I could not have stayed for a week in a country-house like this in England without meeting the rector of the parish. But here, there is not a curé within the whole district whom I could ask to my table.'

The present condition and prospects of French Protestantism were also discussed. Although himself a Protestant, M. Guizot did not, I think, expect any revival of religion from this quarter. He regretfully confirmed a statement about which he was asked that the French Protestants were deeply tainted with Unitarianism.

Here follow extracts from the Bishop's diary.

July 23.—On to Bernay—excellent model for church for us. On to Lisieux—where Guizot's carriage, and to Val Richer. Received most kindly by the good patriarch—son-

in-law De Witt and two daughters and three nieces. Exceedingly tired. The heat most overwhelming day and night. A great deal of talk with Guizot.

July 24.—(*Val Richer.*)—M. Guizot read us a sermon of Bossuet on 'Predication of Gospel.' Afternoon walked with Madame de Witt to parish church for catechising and vespers. Then talk with Guizot in room—and walk. He said:—

'Not a word of truth in the common statement that parsimony ruined Louis-Philippe. So far from hoarding he spent some 40 millions of his own—restoring Versailles, &c. If he had not lost his head the *émeute* would have been quite easily subdued. Marshal Bugeaud, far the ablest French general I have ever known, would have put it all down at once. All his arrangements were made, and in two days all would have been quiet. The King lost his head. He said when he addressed the Garde Nationale and they cried out Reform, "But you have reform." When they continued shouting Reform, he turned round and said, "They are mad." He said, "I shall be sent to the Château d'Eu—and in a few days they will want me back." When we resigned he said, "À vous la gloire, à moi la honte." At 11 at night when Thiers had not accepted, he sent to me again: would I sign the decree? I sent for my Ministre d'Intérieur, and he and I signed the decree for Bugeaud to put down the *émeute.* At 6 the next morning Odillon Barrot had accepted, and stopped all Bugeaud's proceedings. The Queen was too entirely his wife to counsel resistance.

'Of all the men now in command Trochu is the most promising, "l'homme de l'avenir." Bugeaud could command. The soldiers trusted and would follow him. So would they Changarnier, though he was harder to the men than Bugeaud. Marmont was only an officer of artillery. In the battle of Salamanca Marmont was wounded and carried out, and Marshal Clausel succeeded. The Duke of Wellington said—"There is a change in the French General—I must be more cautious." He was right. Napoleon in one of his rages treated M. Talleyrand with great contempt and even abuse before all. Talleyrand sat quite still, leaning on his elbows.

When Napoleon had gone out, he said aloud before all, "'C'est dommage quand les rois sont mal élevés."'

July 25.—Morning, read, wrote. Woodford and A. Gordon. Early walk. Afternoon we walked to the village schools. After dinner visit of Sous-Préfet and wife and Médecin—all very curious. Arthur Gordon went and took letters for me. Much talk with Guizot at night. He talked of the Curé and French Church. 'The Curé is very good—full of charity. Will send away his own dinner to the poor. So they have a real love for him, but he has no influence. He is not able. He is "chairman." They want him. They would quarrel so among themselves—he adjusts matters. The women many of them believe—yet there is great immorality—bastard children, &c. The men do not believe. I doubt if one in this village believes. They come to Communion because it is respectable. The Curés all from peasant class. When one is really able he gets influence. Many more of the Bishops would have protested against the infallibility if they dared. But they are afraid of their parish priests, who are very ignorant. Still, though the position of one of these (Bishops) returning home is not very pleasant, he will be supported by a great deal of public opinion on his side. The income of a Bishop 700*l.* a year and his house kept in repair. The Curé here about 50*l.*, his house kept in repair. Curé's servant must be above 50—and seems chosen for ugliness.'

July 26.—Morning early. Prayers, &c. Read. After *déjeuner* walked with Guizot and all the family to a neighbouring château. Very interesting. The old buildings, pigeons, &c., so much the same as of old. Chapel turned into granary. Much talk with Guizot. 'On one occasion, some four years before his fall, the King seized both my hands and said: "M. Guizot, you are an old Roman!" He felt that he was not one himself. He was, however, personally brave. I have seen him ride calm up to men in insurrection, whilst they were pointing their guns at him, without any sign of fear. His weakness was love of popularity. He could not bear unpopularity. He said, "What is the use of serving this people who judge you so unjustly?" When I came to see them first at Claremont, Nemours took both my hands and

said: "We were lost when we parted from you." . . . Thiers is not a bad man. He is indiscreet, but he is not a bad man. . . . The present Archbishop of Paris is a clever man. He is honest to man. He is not honest to God. He is fair to man. He licensed a book reflecting most unjustly on the Protestants. I spoke to him about it, and he said: "Sir, I have done wrong. I should never have licensed it. I will recall my licence." The King was personally fond of Thiers. I never could be familiar with anyone. Thiers could, and Louis-Philippe liked it. Louis XVIII. was a clever and prudent man. He showed his bed in his room to a friend of mine, and said, "I hope to die in that bed." He added, "I wish I could think my brother would too." Charles X. was quite without political sagacity, and Polignac was an idiot.'

In answer to a question Guizot said: 'No, I do not think his son (the Emperor's) will succeed; and, if not, after two years' trouble, they recall the Orleanist Princes. I think Nemours is the cleverest of them.'

On leaving Val Richer we pursued our way to Granville. Two places on the road more especially awakened the Bishop's interest, Falaise and Coutances.

In the Castle of Falaise we stopped for a few minutes at the head of a flight of stairs before entering the room in which William the Conqueror is said, probably without sufficient reason, to have been born, when I noticed a group of women busied in some employment, I knew not what, beside a little stream in the valley. 'What are they doing?' the Bishop asked. 'Washing skins in the stream,' our guide answered. More than 800 years before, Robert, afterwards Duke of the Normans, had looked upon the same scene as he returned from hunting, and Arlette, the tanner's daughter, had become the mother of the Conqueror. I remember well the Bishop's far-away look as his mind seemed to sweep over those centuries

of change which had left unchanged that picture of village life. The diary for that day records, 'Train to Falaise—wonderful sameness of *Then* and *Now*.'

Coutances had a special interest for the Bishop in that the Channel Islands were formerly a part of the diocese of Coutances. He was much pleased also with the following incident:—

On the morning after our arrival we went before breakfast to the Cathedral and ascended one of the towers, from which the Bishop, according to his wont, began with the help of our guide to identify the various points in the landscape. Suddenly to our surprise the guide (a very fat woman) dropped on her knees, not without difficulty, in the narrow leaden gutter in which we were standing between the battlement and the root of the spire. She had seen on his finger the episcopal ring and this was her act of homage. But more was to follow. We went back to the hotel to breakfast, and soon afterwards, upon my return from making arrangements for our start, I found the Bishop in great good humour. 'You should have been here,' he said. 'I have just had a deputation from the Cathedral—the *premier Vicaire*, the *seconde Vicaire* and others—our guide seems to have told them of my being here and they came to beg that we will leave the hotel and let them entertain us. The Bishop of Coutances has not yet returned from Rome, or he would have himself come to invite us. I have fully explained to them who I am, and that I am on my way to my Visitation of the Channel Islands, so that they are under no mistake.'

We were obliged to leave Coutances that day, but the Bishop often reverted to the courtesy of this official recognition of his office.

On August 1 we reached Jersey and became the

guests of General and Mrs. Guy at Government House. The time apportioned to the Channel Islands was a clear fortnight, including a Sunday at Jersey and another at Guernsey. The Bishop's life during this period reverted, as the diary shows, in a great degree to its usual character in England. The fortnight's sojourn in the islands was indeed an epitome of his whole diocesan work. Two, sometimes three Confirmations were held daily, diversified by Visitations of the Clergy, the opening of a school, sermons, inspection of orphanages and industrial schools, &c., the intervals being filled up with letter-writing. We found 160 letters awaiting us at Government House.

We arrived in Guernsey on Monday, August 8, after a rough passage from Jersey, and were met on the quay by the Dean of Guernsey and other clergymen of the island. They told us that we had come at a moment when a heavy cloud rested upon the town in consequence of the death of one of the most revered of the clergy, the Rev. C. S. Guille, Rector of St. Peter Port, whose work had been prematurely cut short at the age of thirty-eight years, and who was to be buried on that morning. The Bishop immediately prepared to go straight to the cemetery and to officiate at the funeral, and did so.

The first act of the chief pastor in Guernsey was thus to lay into the earth the remains of one who had been called from his work at mid-day. The last act before leaving was to commit the apostolic ministry to new hands. No record existed of an Ordination having been previously held in Guernsey—the rite had certainly never been performed there since the Reformation. It was resolved therefore to give the Island-Church an opportunity of witnessing the solemn administration of Holy Orders in the fine church of St.

Peter Port. There were, I believe, only three candidates, but these sufficed to enable the Bishop on the last Sunday to crown his visitation of the Channel Islands with the public exercise of the highest function of his office, with all that singular dignity and impressiveness which he pre-eminently imparted to it.

In the following extracts from the diary, the Bishop himself describes the employments of each day, and the return to England :—

August 1.—Very kindly received by General Guy and Mrs. 160 letters; worked hard at them with Woodford. Received the Clergy, the Bailiff, and the Viscount. Drove to Fort, Harbour, &c., with the Dean. A quiet and pleasant evening.

August 2.—Up at quarter to six. Worked at French Charge to confirmés. Letters, &c. Then to a Confirmation at M. Le Sueur's. Striking from extraordinary attention. I overcome, and Woodford greatly, and Le Sueur. Long talk with him after about schools, &c. Then to Castle Orgueil, Orphanage, Asylum, Industrial School. Party at Governor's.

August 3.—To St. Luke's. Woodford preached, 'Through the gates into the city.' Opening of Schools. Then back to Government House. Confirmation at St. Heliers, *very* full. Drove to Bon Muet. Dined Bailiff's.

August 4.—Heavy rain, in which to St. Simons. A very large and attentive congregation and a bright chanted service: rather too long. I preached on 'Waiting for the promise.' Then to State's committee room about M. Le Sueur's closed school. Then Prince's Tower and saw French coast. Public dinner at Imperial. Speaking. Great cordiality on all sides.

August 5.—Beautiful drive to St. Ouen's church with Dean and Woodford. Greatly struck with the massive beauty and colour of the church. Restoration excellent. Between 4 and 5,000*l.* spent, got together by Clement. Preached on Heb. ix. 24. Luncheon at the school. Spoke. Confirmation. Then on to Gros Nez point. The sea and rocks very grand. To Col. Le Couteur, where dined.

August 6.—Up very early and prepared Charge. Service at Town Church, which full. Delivered Charge unwritten. People very attentive. Then met Clergy and Churchwardens. Then College and on to Rozel.

August 8.—Up at 5 and off in heavy rain in large packet-boat. Many of Clergy on the pier to say farewell. Fair passage to Guernsey. Dean, Principal, &c., all kind. To Governor's, and drove round Island. Dinner quiet at Elizabeth College.

August 9.—Basil, C. and Herbert arrived from Southampton. Received Court and Clergy. Confirmation at Vale Church. A party at the College.

August 12.—Early off to Sark. A charming day. Delicious passage in 'Dasher.' Confirmation primitive at Cachemaille. Back to dine with Bailiff—large party.

August 14.—Ordination at Town Church. Excellent sermon by Woodford on 'new song,' a nice service throughout. Afternoon, I preached on Elijah in weakness to immense congregation. Walked pier with C—, Bas. and Herbert—quiet, pleasant evening.

August 15.—Wrote many letters. Visited Victor Hugo's house. Off at 4.45, and after lively voyage, well accomplished, reached Alderney, D.G., safe. With Basil to Judge L——'s house.

August 16.—Over Fort Albert, where only one rifled gun! Then a very nice Confirmation in beautiful church of G. Scott's, built by Le Mesurier. Then off by 'Dasher.' Four hours, and over to Cherbourg. Walked about Cherbourg, and dined and slept at Hôtel des Bains.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Rev. T. V. Fosbery.

Cherbourg: August 17, 1870.

My dearest Fosbery,—Many thanks for yours of August 7, which found me in the Channel Islands. How 'The Patriarch' took them to do them so easily, as you intimate, is more than I understand. They gave me incessant work from early morning to late night. It has been a most interesting time. I do not know that I ever saw Confirmations, sermons, &c., produce so much effect. May it please God to make

some results enduring to the glory of the name of Christ. I left Alderney after a very nice Confirmation yesterday, and came on to Cherbourg. We slept there, and I am now in the rail carriage to Rouen. We mean to sleep to-morrow at Boulogne and home. Friday or Saturday I go to Lavington. I am very much interested with all you told me of Reading and the close of your loving faithful ministry there—the fruit of that will meet you again, my beloved old friend, at the great day. I shall be rejoiced to hear from you again. . . I am ever, my dearest Fosbery, your very loving old friend,

S. WINTON.

August 17.—(*Cherbourg.*) Off early for Lisieux and Rouen. Hôtel d'Angleterre. Dined at *table-d'hôte.* Extraordinary silence and sadness. The commander of the district and his wife. He at times quite overcome, as if he could not swallow. Late at night 'good news, which must be kept secret because of Prussian spies, sent round by Government.' It amounted to Marshal Bazaine having a plan for surrounding Prussians. At an evening service for the war at the Cathedral,

August 18.—Early out, and saw several churches with Woodford. A large communion in the Cathedral. After breakfast off for Amiens. To Boulogne, where H. and E. We dined at Pavilion Imperial. With E. to fair.

August 19.—With E. to Cathedral. A musical mass: utter mummery, shamefully disfiguring the blessed Sacrament. A sermon after by a Dominican: some power of preaching, but quite wrong on doctrine as to God's second thoughts—a monstrous piece of Mariolatry. 'She was our mother—so from Eternity. She the Wisdom with whom the Father communed in the Eternity! Her sorrow under the cross travail pangs of millions of souls!' I intensely depressed. Then to ramparts: fair. Aquarium excellent. And so, after doubts, crossed well in high wind from north-east to Folkestone and London.

August 20.—Thanks be to God, who has kept my going out and coming in. Wrote with Woodford and Basil. He off for Southsea, Woodford for Leeds, and then I to Lavington,

where, of God's mercy, all well and dearly welcoming. A great melancholy on me, as always on returning—as if I should meet HER, and cannot find her; and dear F.'s grievous state. Yet how gracious God! How I long yet to serve Him better.

The next letter, to Miss Thornton, bears also upon this visit to France and the Channel Islands.

The Bishop of Winchester to Miss M. A. Thornton.

Lavington: September 17.

My dear Marianne Thornton,—No! I escaped from France: but my home passage through it showed me one of the saddest sights I ever saw. They were beginning to wake up to the truth of their position, and to smart under the miseries of war; and their capricious, vain, chivalrous, self-contradicting nature rose like a balloon and collapsed like a balloon with a perfectly astounding rapidity of alternation. . . . We are sending out questions through the diocese. We ought to occupy Clapham before the Prussians come and take away our creeds and formularies. But —— is lingering like the III. Nap. and will not his curates act like the Field-Marshals and either get lost on the Common, or shut up in some antiquated Metz? I found Richmond's picture on going a few days back to Winchester House, and I do so thank you for it. It looked fresh and bright as if it was painted yesterday. I put it reverently into a wardrobe, guarded, I hope, from smoke and dust till we re-inhabit that house, when you will come and see it. I am just off on diocesan wanderings till November. I am affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

August 23.—(*Lavington.*) Wrote till 4, and then rode to Drove. Mrs. Denman there, very charming. Rode home. Read 'Misunderstood,' *very* touching and truthful.

September 3.—(*Hursley.*) To church, &c. After luncheon, Winchester with Bas. and A. Mildmay. The wonderful news of M'Mahon and Emperor's surrender to King of Prussia. Service in Cathedral sadly poor, but a good many present. Took Bas. to room of his birth—deeply moved.

To his son Ernest the Bishop writes :—

Hursley Park : Sept. 4, 1870.

We have been at this beautiful church this morning. I celebrated. The Bishop of Salisbury preached an excellent sermon ; it seemed to me as if Keble's spirit was with us in communion there.

Sept. 9.

I am studying the diocese desperately.

London : Oct. 19.

I am just off after a day's work, which has almost left me deaf, for Yorkshire, to marry W—— to-morrow morning. There is nothing new in the family or in the nation to tell you, and it is an old thing indeed to try and tell you how I love you.

September 28.—(*Dogsmersfield.*) After breakfast off with Cardwell to London. Wrote a little. Saw Eyre, Elsdale, Gregory, Dunning, Olivier, &c. University Assurance. Sat some time with Gladstone. Full as ever of intellect and interest on all subjects. France and Prussia: hoping that for the present great sacrifice of life over. Talked of 'Westminster scandal'—the 'right name.' Of little import when merely Stanley's eccentricity; but the Bishops' speeches, especially Bishop of Salisbury's. 'How difficult with temper of House of Commons to maintain Church, if such the internal voice. No organic change *will* be made whilst I am in power. But that may be a short time.' Equally full about Pope and Manning.

October 4.—(*Titsey.*) After breakfast rode with Miss Master to Godstone. Saw dear old Mrs. Hoare—and Church. Rode over hill to Marden.[5] Saw my room, and where *we* played at battledore. Rode to Warlingham. Rail to Croydon. Consecration at Carshalton and Beddington. Drove to Banstead. Saw Church and old Walpole.

October 22.—(*Ossington.*) Set off after morning writing with Speaker for Ollerton. Four riding horses sent on for ride about Sherwood Forest, and then to Thoresby. Rain came on, and I stayed at the inn at Ollerton, and wrote.

[5] Marden Park.

Drove in fly to Thoresby. Saw new house, &c. Then back to Ollerton. The day cleared, and we had a charming forest ride, and home. Lord and Lady Manvers dined.

October 25.—(*Lea.*) Walked with Anderson: much talk of our darling.[6] After luncheon off, he going with me to Lincoln for London. Wonderful aurora over Peterborough. All the coloured columns converging into one ground overhead. Athenæum, and back to bed in the large lone room late.

October 29.—(*Polesden.*) Wrote early. After breakfast absolutely on horseback for Leith Hill, when rain began and continued all day. I worked hard, and got off some eighty letters.

November 10.—(*Uppark.*) Wrote morning, and rode down to Havant. Saw Olivier. Rode home, seeing Stone and Sir Jervoise. Wrote again. In night seized with violent spasms at the heart. Called Reg., who for hours with me. Seemed very like the end coming and tried indeed to commit myself to Him; but prayed to live, much for my children.

This was the second of these attacks. Early in the year the Bishop had had the first. It is a remarkable fact, that though his children were not privileged to be with him in his last hour on earth, yet each one of his sons was with him, separately, on these occasions. This seizure was perhaps the most violent of all, and was entirely owing to the immense strain to which he was subjecting his bodily and mental powers. The Bishop called his son Reginald (the writer of these pages) at about two o'clock in the morning, who remained by his father's bedside, occasionally administering sal volatile. At half-past four the Bishop became pulseless, his face quite white, and the action of his heart scarcely perceptible. His son thereupon gave a dose of almost pure sal volatile, the Bishop opened his eyes, and as his son bent down he could just

[6] Mrs. Ernest Wilberforce, Sir Charles Anderson's daughter.

catch the words, 'Good-by, my boy, I am going home at last.' But soon afterwards he sank into a peaceful sleep, the pulse gradually returned, and at six o'clock his son was able to leave him, the attack having passed off.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Archbishop of Dublin.

October 29, 1870.

The blow I have so long foreboded has fallen, and our beloved F. has been taken from us. It is a grievous loss to me; for never was more light and love given through any one than through her.

This refers to the death of Mrs. Ernest Wilberforce, of consumption, at San Remo. The constant references to her in the Bishop's diary show how great was his affection for her and how deeply he felt her loss.[7]

To Mr. Gordon the Bishop thus writes:—

November 10.

I am reading with the deepest interest the letters you have lent me.[8] How your father's character stands out. I should exceedingly like to see the next volume.

December 12.

You will very greatly delight me if you will lend me the next volume of your father's letters. I have finished this with ever-increasing interest, ever-growing reverence for his great just character, kindly affection, and discerning intellect. The true holding of the scales is almost beyond precedent.

December 1.—(*Peper Harrow.*) Voice so gone that I got Mr. Wilson at last moment to preach. Could scarcely speak in chair at the school. Back, and drove round Park. Wrote. Very pleasant evening.

December 2.—Off early for Southsea. Bishop of Guiana

[7] The Rev. E. R. Wilberforce, now Lord Bishop of Newcastle, married, in 1874, Emily, daughter of the Rev. G. Connor, Chaplain to the Queen and Vicar of Newport, Isle of Wight.

[8] Lord Aberdeen's letters.

came to help me most kindly; but I struggled through, letting him confirm the boys. Then to Elson, and with difficulty preached. Then to Sir A. Clifford's.

December 4.—At Confirmation address. With Archdeacon Utterton to St. Anne's, Wandsworth. The Archdeacon preached most kindly for me—my voice still gone. On to Surbiton. Confirmed—a very nice Confirmation all round.

December 5.—Seeing people, writing, &c. till six. Then to Fulham, where Rochester, Lichfield, and Oxford. Mrs. Jackson did not appear, but the young ladies numerous, and very kindly and pleasant. Cheerful evening.

The Bishop held his Ordination at Winchester this year on December 18, and attended a meeting for the Hampshire Diocesan Society[1] on the 19th. With reference to this meeting Charles Kingsley wrote to Mr. Gordon:

'Your friend the Bishop had a great triumph on Monday at Winchester and deserved it. A born *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* he is, and I will do my best to support him on his throne. He has by one bold move got the whole of the leading laymen of Hampshire and *their purses* on his side. Knowing of men as he is, I doubt whether he knows how much good he did on Monday; I, after nearly thirty years as a Hampshire parson, can judge.'

[1] This Society was an amalgamation of the existing societies, and referring to it and to the Bishop's work in the Winchester Diocese, one of the Rural Deans writes:—'The large towns with their teeming population and the remote country villages were equally watched over and visited by him. It was his habit always to carry about with him a map, and to underscore with red every parish in which he officiated. The original map was rapidly becoming obliterated by the red marks. And if there was one point more to be noticed than another in his treatment of a diocese, it was the way in which he endeavoured to make clergy and laity work harmoniously together. This was specially remarkable in the quarterly meetings of the Hants Diocesan Church Association—an association which gathered up into itself the various diocesan societies, and which he inaugurated shortly after he came to the diocese. He was never absent from a single one of these meetings, and none could fail to remark how earnestly he laboured to weld laity and clergy together into one homogeneous body, that they might the more effectually carry on the Church's work.'

December 25.—(*Lavington.*) Celebration at 8.30. Some faint gleams, I hope, of the heavenly light, and longing for more. *All* of us here together, D.G. Then to Graffham—a nice, bright, happy service. In afternoon I preached on *Peace on earth.* Wrote several Diocese letters with beloved Ernest.

December 30.—To St. Leonard's. Luncheon at Mr. Robinson's—very hospitable. Brassey member for borough and Gregory M.P. To Hastings with Brassey, who seems thoroughly good. Liberal Conservative. .G. Hardy his best man. Meeting pretty good, and then to Battle Abbey. They quite alone, and very welcoming. A good deal of talk, political and other.

December 31.—To Hastings. Called on Mrs. Neale, who wonderful at ninety, quite fresh: she described my dear father's exposition one New Year's day—humility—thankfulness—trust. Then by rail, Ernest joining at Ford junction, and calling on Bas. About sermon on to Alverstoke. I worn with journey. And so ends this year of so many blessings, of such unspeakable sadness. My darling F. gone!

CHAPTER XIV.

(1871–1872.)

THE DIARY—LETTERS TO MISS THORNTON—VISIT TO HATFIELD—CONFIRMATIONS—ANECDOTES—THE DIARY—VISIT TO SCOTLAND—LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW—THE GLENGARRY SCANDAL—LETTERS ABOUT—ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES — ATHANASIAN CREED — SYNODICAL DECLARATION—THE DIARY—THE BISHOP RECEIVES ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST—CONVERSATION WITH MR. FORSTER—THE DIARY—CHURCH CONGRESS AT LEEDS—DESCRIPTIVE LETTER TO REV. H. PEARSON—LETTERS TO HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

January 1.—Alverstoke Rectory. Prepared sermon. My Ernest went to Elson and preached there. I preached morning on New Year, afternoon on 'a God that hidest Thyself.' Wrote letters after with Walpole helping. I a good deal depressed. New Year's Day heavy now with clouds. But God's promise sure.

January 25.—A very cold night and snow again. Off with Ernest at quarter to 8. To London for Surrey Church Association. Long discussion on ——'s motion to take from the Bishop the nominating Missionary Curates: only two for it, all the rest against it, D. G. After, I to Farnham. An immense depression on me for present and future. The Dear Old (Bishop) so broken in body and mind. What Farnham Castle was with all its old brightness—and its future! what shall I do here if I live to come? Talk with Gladstone; as ever cordial.

To Miss Thornton the Bishop thus writes:—

Tandridge Court, December 30, 1870.

It has been a Christmas for us draped in sables, and the old year goes sadly out. What will the new year bring? Mercies, I know—may it be rich in blessings to you.

January 8, 1871.

I must thank you for the valuable extract from the 'Record' which you have sent me. How dreadfully ritualistic it sounds for a whole Diocese to have betaken itself to prostrations. Shades of the Claphamites, begone! I am still in day-by-day work, like other mend-i-cants. I have been confirming this morning at Mr. Wilk's, Nursling. Old 'Christian Observers' looked out kindly on me from the shelves. Pictures once belonging to H. Martyn; quotations from letters from our fathers. It seemed like the old time come back.

The Bishop of Winchester to Sir Charles Anderson.

Stratton, January 19, 1871.

My dearest Anderson,—We spent one day this week at Hatfield, and had I been fit for enjoying anything I should have enjoyed it greatly. Salisbury is a very fine fellow: such clear grip of intellect and so high-minded in everything. We had Bob Lowe, and C. Fortescue and Lord de Grey, whom I always like, and Sir H. Holland, in the party. Have you read Salisbury's article (the last) in the new 'Quarterly'? I think it is very able. My dearest Ernest is wonderfully brave and patient. . . . I *can* pray for him and for you, dear old friend, so stricken as you are: and I do not know what else to do. I am your very affectionate

S. WINTON.

February 21.—To Richmond with Ernest for Confirmation—an interesting one. Back and to Queen's Court: very graciously received by Her and all. To House of Lords on Dilapidations Bill. Romilly's exposure of ignorance. Dined with the Chapter at Westminster—not without some misgiving from recent passages with Dean Stanley, but all pleasant.

February 23.—Received many. Then Ecclesiastical Commission. Home and wrote. To Breamore viâ Salisbury for Confirmation with my Ernest. My heart shrinks strangely: is it leaving the family, which I never did before, being in lodgings, or age? At Breamore most kindly received.

This was the beginning of one of the Confirmation tours in Hampshire. The mere reading the daily record of work in the diary produces a sensation of bewildering weariness. Two and often *three* Confirmations a day, sermons, addresses to children, consecrations of burial grounds, &c., the constant moving about from house to house, and the packing of his multitude of books and papers, made a daily round the strain of which was beginning to tell even on him. An account of a week's work at this time is given by the Rev. W. Lucas, of Sopley Vicarage, Ringwood:—

> In February 1871 the Bishop spent a week amongst us in this deanery. He came to hold an Ordination at Ringwood, to confirm in several churches, to be the life and soul of parochial missions held simultaneously in the four towns and some of the villages of the deanery, and to make acquaintance with our leading laymen by staying at as many of their houses as time would permit. The list of engagements I arranged for him under these various heads—episcopal, social, evangelistic—is now before me and is simply appalling. He had stipulated that we should spare him after-dinner work; but this was not always practicable, and he was frequently in harness morning, noon, and night.

It is not surprising that there are occasionally diary entries such as 'very much exhausted, hardly thought I could preach;' 'could hardly rise to go down from my room for food;' 'very much exhausted, could scarcely breathe at dinner, or eat or drink;' 'utterly wearied out at night. Pains in back waking me constantly. O God, Thou knowest the weariness of this life.' And it must be remembered that the large overgrown Winchester diocese was in a very different state from the model diocese of Oxford as it was after the Bishop's episcopate of twenty-four years. The diary at this time often notes at Confirmations 'some

trouble in keeping order,' 'Confirmation at first unruly,' 'disorderly Confirmation,' 'mob—got it quiet.' The long illness of Bishop Sumner had made heavy arrears of work for his successor.

Archdeacon Randall writes at this time: 'You are doing, as of old, three days' work in one; so that if a man's life may be measured by his work your age is now 195 years of ordinary mortals.' The Bishop of Rochester also writes: 'You have introduced such a system into the episcopate that one has time for nothing.' It is difficult to believe what Bishop Wilberforce once told Dr. Woodford (Bishop of Ely), that he was naturally indolent, and had at first 'to flog himself up to his work.'

One of the leading laymen with whom the Bishop stayed about this time, Mr. Wyndham Portal, has supplied recollections of the Bishop's conversation, which show that, however wearied he was, his sense of humour never deserted him.

'A conversation arose after dinner as to the difficulty of rendering some English words into Latin. "You cannot put 'Hearse' into Latin," said one. "Oh, that is very easy," said the Bishop; "Mors omnibus."

'After one of his usual hard days' work, when the rest of our party went up to bed, the Bishop looked about the drawing-room table and took upstairs several books. I went with him to his room to see that all was comfortable and as he wished. Before we parted, he looked round the room and said: "Coal-scuttle full, good; candles long, good; a comfortable chair, good; a bath and water, good. My nights are a bad time with me. I frequently have to get up and sit in my chair, and I try to read myself to sleep and then I move stealthily to my bed, hoping that I shall not be awoke by the process."

'There were at that time but very few dioceses in which Diocesan Conferences or Synods were held. When expressing a hope that our Bishop would establish them in his Diocese, he expressed his strong disinclination to institute them "at present." "I know how it will be," he said; "the Bishop must always attend every meeting, while you laity may do as you please. When all goes well and smoothly you will say, 'See how well we have done it.' When there is a failure from any cause, it will then be said, 'See what a muddle the Bishop has made of it.'"

The Bishop of Winchester to Sir Charles Anderson.

St. George's Hill, Byfleet, March 17, 1871.

My dearest Anderson,—I have just got your charming letter of yesterday. Nobody writes such letters as you do. They are quite delightful to me, and to-night, when I have come in very much tired after two very exciting stirring Confirmations and had your letter which by a mistake I had left at home this morning, it quite soothed and cheered me. I agree with you in every word you say about the labourers, &c.: substantial consideration for them and no humbugging nonsense is the real thing. We, Ernest and I, are moving about from house to house at our Confirmations and have been at some very pleasant ones. This is delightful—a new nice house amidst the fir trees of St. George's Hill, with very distant views every way and very nice people: Captain Egerton, one of the Derbyshire members, son of the first Lord Ellesmere; Lady Louisa, the Duke of Devonshire's daughter; and we have down with us Lord Frederick Cavendish and Lady Frederick (Lucy Lyttelton); and we have had Lady Enfield. There is something mightily pleasant in real high breeding: it is so considerate and so free from fussy excitement. We had also a very pleasant visit at Captain Ramsden's, at Busbridge. Sir John Ramsden and Lady Gwendoline were there and all very pleasant indeed. I am, ever yours affectionately,

S. WINTON.

The next letter is to his daughter-in-law, Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce :

Rotherfield Park, Alton, Easter Monday.

My dearest A——, I had quite counted on getting to you Thursday. But here is Sir W. Knollys' letter quite upsetting my scheme. So I must hope for another time. I was so glad to hear that dearest Reg.—thank him for his dear letter—was looking revived. You said nothing as to my dear little A——, about whom also I want to hear. Tell me about her when you write next. I was very bad, I feel, not to have written to you on the Beloved Ba Ba's[1] Birthday: I cannot think how I omitted to do so. I am off this morning for Laverstoke, Mitcheldever. Write *Tuesday* to Winchester House and *Wednesday*. Thursday up to Saturday, Sandringham. I shall *so* want daily letters to enable me to keep up in my Easter Holidays separated from you all. I have not been quite well lately, cold and pains all about, but ever your most loving father,

S. WINTON.

Dear love to Whiteheads,[2] Reg. and Ernest.

April 15.—Sandringham. The day for the most part wet. I walked to Sir W. Knollys' to call, and Mr. Onslow's. Wrote and read a good deal. Duchess of Cambridge came. Dr. Quain, Mr. Courtenay, and Lady G. Somerset. First swallow. Saw the Princes again. Both interesting children. The eldest, Edward, that inward look of melancholy which the Prince had. George full of fun, spirit, and life.

April 16.—Up fairly early. Prepared sermon on 'They knew not the Scripture that He must rise from the dead.' Preached it with interest to a very attentive congregation in the pretty little church. At luncheon all together and boys, and afterwards little Princesses. Prince John very pleasant. Walked over gardens, houses, and farmyard. A good deal of talk.

April 17.—To London, and find Reg., A., boys, and beloved Ernest arrived. Went and saw them. I wrote and talked with A. Henry came and wrote with me. Low about himself. The speculative feeling I have so often known, what if no eternal life?

[1] The Bishop's grandson. [2] Grandchildren.

To his daughter-in-law the Bishop again writes :—

Sherfield Rectory, Basingstoke, April 23, 1871.

We had a very successful day at Winchester yesterday. Ernest did his work capitally. A great many of the leading laity attended and we did a good day's work. . . . It is cold here. I walked all along the wood coverts to hear the nightingales but I think it was too cold for them to sing. I am afraid the dear Whiteheads will not lose their colds till it gets warmer. I long for a letter about you all. I did hear the cuckoo to-day, which was a little spring-like ; but he did not seem to venture to sing out. My dear love to Reg. and Ba and Willie. I always like to indulge in a home letter on Sunday ; it seems so in tune with God's great gifts to us on it.

April 29.—Early Prayers. Wrote. Breakfast at Sir W. S. Maxwell's—Philo-Biblon. Then to British Museum ; home with Lord Eversley. Afternoon wet, and I wrote on through it till I went to the Academy. There many friends, and enjoyed pictures. Back after the dinner in good time. At 3 A.M. seized with palpitations or rather spasms of heart. In time called Savage, and after an hour Ernest ; at 5, so far better that went to bed. Slept on, but woke Sunday still palpitating. Beloved Ernest how loving.

April 30.—Up at 8.30. Sent to Peterboro, London, and then Gloucester for aid. He [Gloucester] kindly took sermon at St. Mary Magdalene, Southwark, and Confirmation after. Dr. Gull came and gave a thorough examination. No organic [disease]. Brain overworked.

May 1.—Better, D. G. With A. to opening of International, and took Miss L. Phillimore. All sorts there. Walked in the procession. . . Then with Ernest to Prince's Risborough, where Lloyd. Splendid sunset over dear old Cuddesdon. Strange feeling of separation from the old diocese.

May 3.—Early off with Ernest at twenty to eight to Dorking. Breakfast. Garden charming, with sand martins *in numbers* close to window. Confirmation nice. Back and wrote. To Lord Beauchamp's to dinner. Tankervilles, Duchess of Cleveland, Derbys, Ridleys. Home late.

May 29.—Hurstbourne. Early. Read service. Wrote. To Long Parish for Confirmation. A charming Confirmation. Day beautiful, church beautiful, congregation most earnest, candidates devout, clergy reverend. Stayed luncheon with dear old Greene. Back and rode (after hour's writing) with Lord Portsmouth and Ernest to Tufton and Barton Stacey.

June 11.—Early. My great Fast Feast. No one to sympathise with me—till I shivered. None of these care; only I whispered it the last thing to A. and she seemed to sympathise. I went morning to St. Matthew's, Brixton. Preached to very large congregation for S. C. A., and collected at the doors 53*l.* Luncheon with good —— and large Confirmation. Called at Lambeth. Archbishop not worse for his speech on Friday. He cordial. Chapel Royal. Wrote at Athenæum. Good accounts from Bas., D. G.

It was a pleasure to the Bishop's hospitable heart that he was able to make Winchester House a hotel for some of his oldest friends: notably, to Sir George Prevost, Sir Charles Anderson, as well as many others from the old and new dioceses. He writes to Sir Charles Anderson: 'I think that instead of getting colder in affection as I grow older I get to cling more closely than ever to real old friends.' The next diary entry is characteristic of the great unwillingness and regret with which the Bishop parted from any friends, an unwillingness which many of his guests may still remember, but which was naturally intensified in the case of these old and dear friends.

June 17.—Letters with Woodford, who with Prevost went. I felt in my old heart solitary—get ashamed of this with dear Reg. and A——'s kindness, but she looks so fragile I could weep. Then to Sons of Clergy. Home and wrote, Reg. helping. Then with A— for Botanic to meet Prince of Wales, and pouring rain sent us home. Wrote a good deal. Prepared sermon. Rode once round Park.

June 22.—Dearest Ernest came early. He off at 8.15. I gazed after the vanishing cab. Shall I ever see him again?

God knows! Heavy day. Letters. Breakfast. Gladstone, who unusually bright; Italy, &c., &c. Ecclesiastical Commission. Meeting at Willis's Rooms for St. Albans. C. Lloyd came. Drove to Gipsy Hill. Gave prizes.

July 11.—Wrote a good deal and saw. At 4 went to Mrs. Gladstone's tea to meet Princess Royal and Crown Prince. Very cordial and a good deal of talk. He quite affectionate at our parting—'My dear Bishop;' remembering my sermon before his marriage. Rain hindered riding. To House. Dined Lord Sydney's to meet again Crown Prince and Princess. Gladstones, Spencers, Bessboroughs, &c.

July 28.—(Blackdown.) Wet morning, but breaking into fair. The morning views from my window wonderful. The cloud fringes lowering down with such wonderful shades of light. Suggested sermon on the Hills about Jerusalem. Preached with interest. Then a luncheon and toasts, all hearty. Mr. —— told me, the stranger speaking to one near, of Tennyson, 'Mr. Tennyson lives here does not he?' 'Yes he does.' 'He is a' great man!' 'Well I don't well know what you call great, but he only keeps one man servant, and *he* doesn't sleep in the house!'

August 5.—Early. Wrote a good deal and at 12 in carriage with Wodehouse and daughter for Farnham. Luncheon with Patriarch, who seemed better and spoke plainer: with me to door and 'God bless you.' Drove to Telford and saw Church Schools and parsonage. Then Elstead. Then Peper Harrow. Rode with Mr. and Mrs. Ramsden by Mousehill and Milford (at church, but could not get in) to Busbridge.

August 6.—Early. Prepared sermon morning on unjust steward. Evening, Elijah in weakness. Wrote a good deal. I hope earnest prayer at Communion for all mine and my work. Much touched by that 'God bless you' yesterday of the dear old man.

August 18.—Southampton. Wrote and prepared sermon for St. Mary's, Southampton. Much moved and prayed hard for first sermon there in Bas.' ministry. Preached on 'He that teacheth.' Sunday School Conference.

August 19.—Wrote early. By 11.15 boat to Cowes and by rail to Newport and on to Parkhurst with Bas and C.

Consecrated colours. Much and very pleasant talk with Crown Prince and Princess and Prince Arthur. Luncheon at Parkhurst, and to Newport. Service in church, and then to Cowes and Southampton. Basil had clerical party to meet me. All went off pleasantly.

August 20.—Southampton. Early Communion. Prepared my sermon on Naaman. A good deal depressed. Preached, however, with interest. Wrote. Walked with Bas. and C. to countless schools for two hours. Saw poor dying man. Intensely tired. God only knows the temptation with pain in back, &c., to lie still. Preached evening on Jehu. Large congregation. I trust impressed. Churchwardens to supper.

On August 30 the Bishop started for a much-needed holiday in Scotland, with the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Claughton) and Miss Claughton.

Together they stayed at Inverary, Invergarry, Gordon Castle, and Lord Dudley's at Blackmount, and Sir W. Stirling Maxwell's at Keir. Together they fished for salmon, with but slight success on the Bishop's part. 'Views beautiful.' 'Air reviving.' 'All most kind and cordial.' After a short stay at Alnwick Castle and at Raby, the Bishop was again in London on September 20. 'Very sorry to leave Rochester and K—[3]. Woodford joined, and we went together to Lord Eversley's; all very kind.'

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce.

Inverary, September 1, 1871.

Darling A——, I write one line to say that I got here last evening just too late for dinner but joined them by fish time—was *most* kindly received. The party the family: Lord Lorne and the Princess (who was very agreeable) and Lord and Lady Percy and Campbell of Islay and an old German tutor of Lord Lorne, come to rejoice with him in his happiness. Yesterday was delightful: Reg. of course

[3] The Bishop of Rochester's daughter.

knows the Kyles of Bute and Loch Fyne—and the beauty of the Isle of Arran. Then I came by coach across to Loch Awe; came up it 25 miles by steamer, gradually getting into the grand fellowship of Ben Cruachan and the Glenorchy Hills, the highest cloud-veiled and of every colour from violet through purple up to black. Then I got another coach and came down here. At 8 this morning the rain began: but as my aneroid is slightly rising I am not hopeless. I hope the rain has kept off with you and that the farmers have carried their corn: and Reg. and Pen.[4] had some good shooting this morning.

This castle is beautifully situated on the shore of the Fyne Loch. Grand woods behind and the high hills all round, some red with heather, some dark cliff-like rocks and beautifully wooded. All as kind to me as if I was one of them, so the going away seems jumping again into cold water. Now good bye, dear one, for the present. Don't let my little men forget me. Your ever loving

S. W.

Invergarry, September 3.—I take pen to finish this letter.

I left Inverary Friday afternoon very reluctantly, got to Oban and slept there at the inn in order to be ready to start at ¼ to 8 on the steamer to bring me up hither. On the steamer I met Nicholas Ridley and his family, one of my clergy and brother of W. H. Ridley of Hambledon in the old Diocese. This was very pleasant. I went up the Glencoe valley and got on here by 7.15. I find a warm welcome and a full house. The Stirling Maxwells, Mrs. Norton, Charles Balfour, all of whom I know well, and many more. We had a good day yesterday. This morning has been wet: but it is clearing now, 12. I have been reading the service in my own room and a sermon of T. T. Carter and thinking of you all and praying for you. There are no services here to-day, so I am going to give one in their kirk of my own to this party this afternoon. The post has come and brought a large Lavington cover, which I tore eagerly open: but not one word of any of you—Reg.'s neuralgia, your dear little self or the blessed boys. On Tuesday I hope to meet Bishop of

[4] Sir Peniston Milbanke.

Rochester and K— at the Duke of Richmond's. Dear love to my Reg. and the boys. Your ever loving

S. WINTON.

The service in the little Glengarry church which the Bishop gave at Mr. Ellice's request was thus reported by the 'Scotsman:' 'The Bishop of Winchester officiated at Glengarry, strictly following throughout the service the Presbyterian order of the worship of the Church of Scotland.' On the following Sunday, September 10, the Archbishop of York, who was at the time Mr. Ellice's guest, performed a service in the same church, in ordinary walking-dress, and used a mixture of the Scotch and English Services. A rumour was thus spread that these two Prelates had performed service conforming to the Presbyterian service. The Bishop's conduct was approved of by the Episcopalian Synod of Moray and he received the full approval of the Primus of Scotland. The letters which follow tell the story in the Bishop's own words:—

The Bishop of Winchester to Dean ——.

Keir, Dunblane, September 16, 1871.

My dear Dean,[5]—I have to-day your letter of September 13. It contains no inclosure, but I can easily guess that your question refers to the service I gave in the Kirk at Invergarry. It is a simple story. There was no Church of our communion within reach: a large gathering of English guests: and I was asked to give them a service. The Kirk, built by Mr. Ellice, was without service that day, the minister being at Glenquoich, and so he farther asked me if I would give it in the Kirk, where the English-speaking population might profit. I had no hesitation in going, as St. Paul went to the Jewish Prayer House where Lydia heard

[5] I cannot ascertain from the copy-book to whom this letter was written, but probably it was written to Dean Ramsay.

him: and, accepting the loan for a service, beginning with prayers read out of our Prayer Book, hymns, two lessons, a sermon and a concluding prayer, I consider myself in no way mixed up with the Presbyterian service but to borrow the building for a service of my own. I mentioned it fully to the Primus and had his full approbation of it. In the evening I read our Evening Service in Mr. Ellice's house. I am ever yours most truly,

S. WINTON.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Dean of Chichester.

September 30, 1871.

My dear old Hook,—I have just found on arriving here your letter and P.S., and I must thank you for them. They are your own hearty, trusting, generous self. God bless you.

But I *must* ask you to *show* me where I am wrong. I am quite ready to say that I am sorry to have done anything to pain one true-hearted friend like you and would never have done what I did had I foreseen it. But I *cannot* say that I think in what *I* did there was any ground for the offence. I think there was abundant ground in what W. Ebor did. He identified himself with the unapostolic intrusive Presbyterian ministry. I did nothing of the sort. As to using the Kirk, I no more encouraged Presbyterianism in that than if I had preached the Gospel in a cow-house I should have encouraged vaccination. But you say I ought to have said our whole Office. Why? I did say it privately in my own room. I did not consider the Morning Service one fit for it. If you went into a heathen land to preach the Gospel to half-taught Christians would you feel bound to read the whole Office first? I do not feel bound in England if I take a Mission Service in a school to do so. On the contrary, I have too much veneration for our Service to have done so. I showed my colours: began with our Confession; got no response, saw it was maltreating our Service; so I read openly out of the Prayer Book, to show that I was so reading it, the prayers I could, collects, &c. Now, do explain to me why you object to this. *The* thing I thought it my duty to avoid was to give any sanction to the Presbyterian asserted

ministerial Commission, and this I did. But except as a public service of our Church I have never felt any obligation to perform her Service. The truth is that if I was in fault it was rather in thinking myself in Heathendom in a Kirk than anything else. I *could* not have read out our Communion Office in it. Now, do you really think that the Apostolic Office has lost the power of free Mission-teaching and praying under such circumstances?

I hope you have seen the *resolution* of the Synod of Moray: it was in yesterday's 'Daily Telegraph'—when the Synod after discussion voted a resolution of satisfaction with the explanations rendered by me—but required them of W. Ebor. I am ever your very heartily affectionate,

S. WINTON.

The Vicarage, Leeds, October 7, 1871.

My dear Provost,[6]—Thank you for your kind letter. I wish that Mr. West had been distinctly answered that Mr. Cameron did not lend the Kirk and so could not have lent it for a Presbyterian service; he was not at Glengarry when I was there. It was from Mr. Ellice for *my* service that I had the loan of the Kirk. Neither did I ask for a paper showing how the Presbyterian service was conducted: though such a paper was given me and I used it so far as to try to make what I conceived *my* Mission service as far as possible intelligent to the congregation.

I cannot but think that the harm done has resulted from two things—

(1) The Archbishop distinctly acknowledging, in act and conformed worship, the Presbyterian ministry;

(2) The taking up of my service by our own* Scotch brethren as Presbyterian, and so

(3) allowing the Presbyterians to claim it.

I do not consider Presbyterianism to consist in extempore prayer, a particular collection of Psalms, still less in a certain building; but in the substitution of a human invention for Apostolic orders. And I think the irritation of my Scotch brethren (unlike you and the Primus) against a Bishop who has

* The same remark applies to this letter as to the one on page 383.—ED.

shown for years his brotherhood with you, in attacking him for extempore prayer, has done too much to mystify the religious mind, as if those trifles, and not *the* commission of Christ, were the all important things. I am ever most truly yours,

S. WINTON.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Rev. George Mackness, D.D.[7]

Raby Castle, September 18, 1871.

My dear Sir,—In reply to your letter, I beg to explain to you that the service referred to was a Mission service, there being no English service in the village that day and many strangers and others. It had, of course, nothing to do with the orders, &c., of the Presbyterian body. The Kirk, as a building, was offered for an English Bishop's service in it and accepted readily by me. I believe that I did what St. Paul did at the place where prayer was wont to be made, nor can I conceive that such a Mission service has any tendency to increase the difficulties of our beloved sister the Church of Scotland.

What I did met with the full approval of the Primus. I am ever sincerely yours,

S. WINTON.

October 25.—Up between 6 and 7. Breakfast ¼ to 8 and off for London. Interview with W. E. G. most friendly. Full talk as to Athanasian Creed. Cabinet not willing to stir needless difficulties, D. G. Consulted about Bishop of Ely's suffragan, and we practically agreed. Noble as ever. Surrey Church Association and all pleasant. Hawaian mission and all agreed. University assurance. Down to Winchester; so intensely tired that slept all the way to Mitcheldever. Dined Warden's. Sir Bartle Frere very pleasant: told me 'The crows often get thoroughly tipsy drinking the fermented palm-juice. Few more curious sights than to see a tipsy crow hunting for the bone he has hidden, and not able to find it for his drink.—The wonderful memory

[7] Incumbent of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, Broughty Ferry, diocese Brechin.

of some of the East Indians: man who could repeat lines in all languages unknown to him if once repeated.'

November 30.—Up in good time. Wrote. Consecration day. How long. How good my God. Benedicite.

The next is a letter of condolence written to a great friend of the Bishop, on the occasion of the death of her twin-brother.

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. ——.

May 8, 1871.

My dear ——, I cannot help telling you *how* I feel for you. I know it all so well. The intense interest of the nursing turning into an intenser anguish; till you could pray for his release from that struggling for life. And then the end with its first calm and then the unbroken stillness and the sadness of having nothing more to do for the beloved one, and the realised sense of parting and suspended intercourse until He comes to call us too. I know it all and I know how special was the link which bound you to him: that mystery of twin-hood, which seems to reach into the spirit world, and my heart bleeds for you.

May He comfort you who spoke those words of comfort which last on even till to-day, 'Thy brother shall rise again;' not Lazarus shall rise, but thy brother shall rise—rise as thy brother, renew the old relation, be in the brighter world thy brother—be there where parting is not, whence we shall look back on the storm as the saved from shipwreck looks back upon the floods with which he so lately buffeted.

Yes, dear ——; here is comfort for you: *there* even this sorrow shall have turned into joy as you look back on it together. . . . I am ever affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

The next extracts from the diary refer to the illness of the Prince of Wales:—

December 9.—Calbourne. Connor brought out bad news of the Prince; quite upset me all day; in my thoughts

preaching and celebrating. Greatly aggravated irritation of chest and voice and quite bad at night.

December 10.—Lay in bed. Read service and three of Robertson's sermons. *Rather*, better account by telegram of Prince. Sir W. Knollys to me, 'We have hope still.'

December 14.—First better news of Prince. Thank God.

December 30.—Lavington. Woke early with oppressive cold, caught, I believe, from darling children. Wrote very hard. Interviews with MacColl and Trotter. The day hopelessly wet. Billiards with Ernest and A—— for exercise. Read a little. Cold heavy and stifling, and fearing for Monday's and Tuesday's work. *Miserere!*

The Rev. A. P. Cust[8] writes:—

'Those of us who saw him 'at home' will ever maintain an ideal to be cherished, emulated and extolled. Never did father watch more tenderly and anxiously over the welfare of his children and endeavour as far as possible to supply to them that blessing so early taken from them—a mother's love. How few who noticed his laborious life knew of the hours spent at night in earnest prayer on their behalf to God.

December 31.—My cold so threatening that I lay in bed till near 12. Better then: read the Service as they were saying it in church close by. And so the year runs out again. How many its mercies; in some respects, signal. My Reg. flourishing. His dear wife and three children. My beloved Ernest given me back again from America certainly in better health, though still pale, worn, and heart-broken. God bless him. My own Basil well placed at Southampton, and doing, I trust, a real work for God there. His wife helping him. His child stronger. Bless the Lord, O my soul. My dear E——, though alas! so parted from us, affectionate. My work something in my Diocese, and though my end seems often very near, yet my strength greatly held up for work. O that my last days may be my best days.

In 1870 the Royal Commission on Ritual issued its

[8] The present Dean of York.

fourth and final Report. Among the subjects which were alluded to in that Report was the Athanasian Creed. This mention of the Creed created such an alarm amongst Churchmen that, in February 1871, a petition signed by 1,150 clergy and laity was presented to the Archbishop, deprecating any change whatever being made either in the Creed itself or in the use of it. This petition was met by counter-petitions to Convocation and to the Archbishop, praying for alterations of some kind to be made.

During the Session of 1871, Mr. T. Chambers[9] gave notice of a motion by which it was proposed to remit any penalties which might be incurred by clergymen who substituted the Apostles' Creed for the Creed of St. Athanasius whenever the latter was ordered to be read. It appears from letters that Mr. Gladstone was personally in favour of what he characterised as a wise and equitable motion, but he also thought that if the Church offered any determined opposition to this proposal the safest course would be to decline the discussion of a subject which would interfere with the Calendar.

In May several of the Bishops met at the Archbishop of York's house to discuss Mr. Chambers's proposal, the result of which meeting was, that the Bishop was enabled to satisfy Mr. Gladstone that on all sides, on different grounds, Mr. Chambers's proposal would meet with a most determined opposition from many members of the Episcopate. From the Bishop's diary of 1871 it is apparent that on this question of doing something with the Athanasian Creed, there was a wide divergence of opinion between the Archbishop and himself. October 9, the Bishop, who was at Addington, notes: 'To Addington. Archbishop and Catherine

[9] Sir Thomas Chambers, now Recorder of London.

very cordial; he full of legislation. Athanasian Creed. Cathedrals, &c. I tried to gentle him. Succeeded, I think, as to Cathedrals and partially Athanasian Creed.' Again, on the 20th: 'To Addington. Walked with the Archbishop; showed him Liddon's and Pusey's letters, and *for the time* convinced him that he must not start withdrawal of Athanasian. He said: 'But it can do no harm to ventilate it.' I replied: 'Has your Grace considered the danger of unsettling some minds and irritating others by the mere fact of our seeming to cause the discussion.' Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon had written many letters to the Bishop, praying for his powerful intervention on this matter; and they had both declared that were the Athanasian Creed touched they would resign their preferments. At this time they would assent to nothing except that things should remain as they were. On December 5 the Bishops met at Lambeth, and the diary furnishes the result of that deliberation. 'To Lambeth till 7 P.M., Bishops' meeting. The Archbishop declared against a material alteration of the Athanasian Creed for fear of a schism, and for Oxford note.[1] Fruit, D. G., of my visit to Addington.' On January 6, 1872, the Archbishop was the Bishop's guest in Sussex. The diary says: 'Lavington.—After breakfast long talk with Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Chichester. The Archbishop quite convinced that he must not tamper with the Athanasian Creed.' Matters thus remained until February 6, on which day the Bishops, as usual before the formal meeting of Convocation, held their private meeting. The diary for that day shows that the Archbishop had lent perhaps a willing ear to opposite counsels and when Bishop Wilberforce brought forward his proposition for an ex-

[1] A proposed explanatory note.

planatory note, the Archbishop proposed an addition. The entry in the diary is: '*February* 6.—Off by 11 to Lambeth. Long prose. The Archbishop outwitted me to propose as additional to my own, *his* proposition, and so after I had left all failed. Greatly annoyed.' On February 8 Convocation met, and the Archbishop announced that the Letter of Business restored to Convocation the liberty of practical legislation for the wants of the Church; it gave them power to debate, consider, consult and agree upon points, matters and things contained in the fourth and final Report of the Ritual Commissioners. This was the completion of the work for which Bishop Wilberforce had laboured for well-nigh twenty years.

The Archbishop then invited a discussion upon the Athanasian Creed. A debate took place, in the course of which the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol proposed, 'That it is not desirable to invite legislation on the part of the Fourth Report of the Ritual Commissioners which relates to the Athanasian Creed.' The discussion on this resolution lasted several days, the debate eventually standing adjourned until May. On May 2 the Bishop of Gloucester's proposal and the adjourned debate upon it were by consent further adjourned until the Lower House, to which, under the Letter of Business, the question had been referred, had reported. The Report came up on May 3 in the form of four Resolutions,[2] carried by large majorities against the strenuous and powerful opposition of the Dean of Westminster; and on that day, the Archbishop having read the first, which was, 'That the confession of faith commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius continue to be used in its integrity in the public

[2] It seems that the third and fourth Resolutions were incorporated in one.—Ed.

services of the Church,' Bishop Wilberforce moved as an amendment to the Bishop of Gloucester's resolution: 'That this House assents to the resolution sent to it by the Lower House, as to the retention and use of the Creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius.' A division was taken and the numbers were equal. The Archbishop gave the casting vote against, and thus by exercising his power of two votes, the amendment was lost. The original motion was also lost, and so matters remained *in statu quo.*

On July 2 Bishop Wilberforce moved the second and third resolutions of the Lower House. The second was, 'That the present rubric remain unaltered;' and the third, which had been originated by the Bishop, and moved in the Lower House by Sir George Prevost, was, 'That this House' (the Lower House) 'is willing to consider any such changes in the English version of this Confession of our Christian Faith as will make it a more exact rendering of the document which has been used in this Church for centuries before the Reformation.' Both of these resolutions were agreed to and a committee of both Houses was appointed to carry into effect the third resolution.

The Bishop's diary of December 3 shows that on that day he was successful in carrying in committee the proposition that an explanatory note should be affixed to the Creed, and that no alterations should be made in either the Creed itself or in the Rubric. In 1873, the Committee reported to Convocation that there should be a Synodical Declaration on the subject. After much discussion this was finally agreed to. Thus was the Church of England, under the guidance of Bishop Wilberforce, steered through one of the greatest dangers which have beset her in modern times.

On this particular question men of all shades of opinion wrote to him; it was absolutely necessary that something should be done. On the one side the loud talkers of the Broad Church party influenced public opinion against portions of the Creed, and especially influenced the Archbishop; whilst, on the other, a serious defection in the Church of England was threatened on the side of the High Churchmen, were the Creed to be touched. In dealing with this latter danger the Bishop's tact was eminently displayed. This is evidenced by Dr. Pusey, who writes: 'Thanks be to God, and under God, I bless Him for your Lordship's interposition. Bright[3] said, "Then the Church of England is saved." It is a heavy weight rolled off, after which one can breathe again freely.'

February 11.—Osborne.—Early and sketched sermon. Preached with interest; very attentive congregation; 'we see through a glass darkly.' After luncheon Queen saw me: very unusually kind. Long talk. Spoke warmly about sermon, Prince of Wales, herself, Athanasian Creed, shortened service. I spoke out on all, and she never so ready to listen, and seeming not hostile to any view of truth; danger of stirring Athanasian, D.G. Walked with Sir J. Cowell, pleasant. Wrote a little and down to East Cowes Church. Chichester Fortescue to dinner. Queen very pleasant and easy; had set me next to her. Interesting after to see her speaking with Chichester Fortescue with great energy on the American question.

To his son Ernest the Bishop writes from Osborne, February 11:—

I specially want some amendments which Phillimore was to look at, in the Clergy Discipline Amendment Act, if this has . . . . (here enter the two little Princes to pay me a visit, examine the biscuit-tin, and ask for one each, inspect my

[3] Canon Bright.

hat, ask why it has strings by the side, in all the fulness of young boy life). . . . I have got comfortably through my sermon: it is far pleasanter to me preaching when the Queen is *one* of a congregation of my own people than preaching to her in the sort of singleness of address it is at Windsor Castle.

February 21.—To Leatherhead, nice Confirmation, and on to London. Meeting of Surrey Church Association. Down to Box Hill, where my dearest Ernest, God bless him, to greet me. Walked up light-hearted because he with me, and my Reg. and his well in town, and Bas. wrote happily. Bless the Lord, O my soul. Dinner with ourselves. I chilled and tired.

February 22.—Thank God! better and able to work on. To Dorking by 10 to service. Preached to candidates on Moses; tenderness, hatred of sin, resting on communion with God. Then candidates at Vicarage. Wrote. Luncheon. To Wootton; Confirmation nice.; and on to Abinger, Coldharbour. Saw dear Lavington. Woodford with me, interested. To S.P.G. at Dorking. Then preached to candidates. Then to the Rates'.

February 23.—To Dorking by 10. Addressed on 'I will give thee rest.' Then drove to Buckland; nice Confirmation. To Red Hill, train to Horley, a nice Confirmation. Back, and train to Red Hill. Confirmed, Parish Church. Then preach at Brass's and open schools, and address. Back to the Rates'.

February 27.—Merstham. Off by 8.11 train with Sheffields, and found London wild with Thanksgiving Day. Hasty breakfast. Walked to House of Lords, and boat to St. Paul's. Then with Bagots; Westminsters, &c. The service really fine. Walked after with Bas. into Park, and saw Queen return. Wrote after mightily with Ernest, Woodford and Prevost.

It was in the spring of 1872 that a gentleman, once well known as a preacher and missionary of Rome in England, became personally acquainted with the Bishop. The acquaintance sprang from nothing

further than a latent confidence and a slight knowledge on either side of some members of their respective families; but it was soon to ripen into intimacy. This priest, it appears, was just then in a state of anxious doubt. He had seceded some time previously from the Church of Rome, and yet, notwithstanding an earnest desire to conform to the Church of England, he hesitated to take that step without effective aid to his conscience; he therefore opened his mind and heart to the Bishop. He was rewarded, not only by a most satisfying solution of every doubt, but by a tender promise of sympathy—well redeemed in their repeated and prolonged conferences and in the affectionate intercourse they maintained to the end. In receptions of this kind, the Bishop adopted no hard-and-fast rule; he always considered the circumstances of each case. The only form of reception in the Book of Common Prayer is that by baptism. And, as in the typical case here detailed, there could be no question of re-baptism, he simply required a renunciation on the one hand, and an *ex animo* adhesion on the other; both to be in writing. Wishing, however, to secure his newly-found friend for active service in the Church, he wrote and bequeathed to him a strong letter of commendation.

The following brief extract from the less personal parts of that letter not inaptly exemplifies the whole. 'I am entirely satisfied,' the Bishop writes to his friend, 'by the reasons for your change; they are such as led our fathers to break the enforced Roman obedience, and to resume as a branch of the Church Catholic, the primitive faith and practice.' Those who know the Bishop's life-long witness against the Papacy will readily understand the joy of his heart at finding it thus given him in his old age to hold out his own

beloved Church as the proper and natural home to a refugee from a yoke so detested.

April 20.—London. Up early. Got to letters before Chapel. Sir C. Anderson breakfasted. Then saw and wrote, Ernest helping. Then rode with Marlborough girls till 2. The darlings [his grandchildren] came from Drove. With A—— to Watercolour Exhibition. Wrote till dinner at Moffatt's. Much talk with Forster, who always interests me deeply: told of having been bred a Quaker. The one danger of present day, not believing in a Personal God. If that sound all follows—Atonement, &c. That *the* danger now, and partly fearing his own soundness and seeing what the loss would be to nation made him so strong on religious education. He said: 'The one man I ever heard preach who really put that forward was Mansell: F. Maurice somewhat, but obscure in his statements.'

April 21.—Up at 20 to 8. Felt beat and intensely depressed: though night unusually good. Great difficulty in grappling with sermon. At last composed and wrote plan. But in church from look of congregation as needing rousing, after earnest prayer changed and preached quite unwritten on Balaam. Confirmed after and at ——. *Very* tired at night.

May 4.—Early and with Prevost at his breakfast. He went. To Grillion's breakfast and on to Confirmation at Richmond. Home and wrote till 6, when to Academy. Nothing high above, but much careful and good painting. At the dinner much the same of the speaking. Bishop of St. David's and Forster very tedious. Archbishop of Canterbury dull. Gladstone best—but never kindling into fire.

On May 18 the Bishop was at Wonham Manor with his old friends the Ways. 'Friendly talk with Albert of old days—my great boy friendship for him so revives in my age.'

The next entry in the diary is very characteristic of the Bishop's ever-fresh remembrance of his days of happiness and of his longing for sympathy. Always

ready to enter warmly into the joys and sorrows of those about him, he had a yearning for affection in return; and his gratitude to any of his family who either rendered him any service or showed him any affection was often out of proportion to the cause.

June 11.—My day! My wedding day; how gloomily, how heavy-hearted it sets in; how unlike what it was; how needful a discipline for me. Not one of them even knows it. They think me hurried with business. They do not know that my heart is in Lavington Church—in the house when we came back. Oh, but it is almost madness to think of it. Saw, wrote. Went to Rotherhithe: consecrated St. Barnabas' Church. Confirmed at St. Stephen's, Lambeth. Bas. very kind. House of Lords. Alabama claims. Dined Merchant Taylors; went and came back with Bishop of London. Ernest, Reg. and A——, came to see me; sitting up and thinking of Highwood, 1828, June 11.

July 16.—Early: after breakfast saw people till 1. To Lords. Committee on Fire Assurance till 4. Wrote and House of Lords till 6.30. Rode Ossington's chestnut mare: a grand mare indeed. Dined Salisbury's. Talk on Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, &c., &c. He charming: so fair, so kind, so simple and high-minded.

On August 17 the Bishop was at Inverary, writing his article for the 'Quarterly' on the East African Slave Trade. The diary continues:—

Rode with Lord Lorne and Lord Archibald: both so pleasant; Lorne loveable. Long discussion after dinner with Duke on real presence not materialistic. Nothing from home to-day. God grant the dear ones are well. Nothing can be prettier than the whole manner of the Princess (Louise). She lent me her horse to ride this afternoon.

Still engaged in writing his review, sometimes in the train, he stayed at Carlisle with the Bishop, whom he quits with 'quite a feeling of loneliness.'

August 29.—Muncaster Castle. Morning wrote letters, and review on East African Slave Trade for 'Quarterly' and finished first draft of it—where better than in the house where, with first Lord, my beloved father so often consulted on his great drama? Rode with Welby to seaside; pouring rain soon after we started. Striking ride over sands. Oyster-catcher. Gulls. One grand old curlew. Small sandpipers. The wind: the surf: the rocks: the dull level sands: tide rising. Evening Charles Lindsay (son of my father's friend's daughter) and wife came. A good deal of talk with Welby, who shrewd.

September 3.—Hawarden. To early church with W. E. G. as loveable as ever: showed me H. Glynne's grave. Talk of Stephen. After breakfast wrote, C. Anderson with me till luncheon. Drove at 4 to Eaton, with Gladstone, S. Glynne, &c., and went over all. A vast outlay, I think for a failure. Walked partly home. Talk with Gladstone on Athanasian Creed—for no violence: would keep all possible: suspects it as only a preliminary of attack on Prayer Book.

On September 6, the day before his birthday, the diary records: 'A deep impression to-day—sense of my own imperfect service. A year ending to-day. O Christ, hear me. The year running out of my life's sands. Is the year's work done?'

To his son Ernest he writes on September 7:—

I have had a very quiet birthday morning up in my own room, and time for a good deal of thought and prayer: it is very serious getting so near the end and the great account. May God give me grace to get ready.

September 29.—Betchworth Park. Up early. Prepared three sermons. Morning at Leigh; preached on despising little ones. At Nutley Lane, Reigate, on beggar died and carried by angels. Evening, Betchworth Church on nature of angels and relations to us. Tired out.

The next letter, written from the Church Congress at Leeds, just after the Bishop himself had spoken to the working men's meeting, is extremely characteristic

of the Bishop, showing how tersely and humorously he could sketch off the different speakers.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Rev. Hugh Pearson.

Leeds, Workmen's Meeting, October 10, 1872.

My dearest H. P.,—I have been reading your letter, put into my hands as I came here, as speakers are uttering their speeches to the shrewd and hard-headed men of Yorkshire. I was so glad to hear from you. I am glad you could give so good an account of the Synod. I quite agree with you entirely about Pott, and I shall never be content till I get him on the bench. I am very unhappy about dear Leighton. I am so very much afraid it is a breaking-up. I am very sorry that I have not been able to get to see him; I hope to do so next week. My dearest Ernest is, I fear, really no better. He has gone out to the Cape—sailing to-day. May God be with him: my heart aches so I can hardly write about it. Basil is doing really wonderfully well at Southampton. I see *your* Bishop has to speak. So I shan't shut up until I can report. Lord Bishop of Oxford called up. He has started well. There—he has described some meeting of Oxfordshire workmen, who were being lectured—he says they were Chinese to us Yorkshiremen—he is saying that the only thing they cared to hear about was '*their wages.*' He thinks the working men of Leeds don't care about their wages! How little he knows us Yorkshiremen. Still they are a little pleased at being told that they are above thinking about wages and just now applaud, but at present he is 'dool.' He has woke a little and said that 'the Church is the oldest mutual help society in the world' (cheers); wound up well with saying a good Church parish was where there were a great many H. P.'s who are kind to everybody.

Enter Birley, M.P., of Manchester: 'we all want to better ourselves, to sleep more, eat and drink more,' &c. Birley is making a sensible, dull, and Lancashire speech, and the shrewd Yorkshiremen are GAPING. There—he has done. Bishop of Manchester—*great welcome*—starts by saying they are *not* working men, that only a few are (cry of 'Show of hands,' and

75 per cent. hold up their hands). Tells a good story of his squire in Berkshire who told him that he should have been a tippler and a poacher—says *he*, having a comfortable house, is not tempted to tipple at the 'Black Dog,' and smoke 'churchwardens' (now he is speaking *very* well indeed.) Why do not the poor hear US gladly? Now has just scalped poor Gloucester and Bristol, but well and tenderly as if he loved him. Now he is praising *Mr. Joseph Arch.* Now he has made a great blunder: says 'the order of the angel was "Go stand in the Temple and speak the words of THIS life," we don't want heaven and paradise 10,000 years hence, but what is to help you TO-DAY.' The Greek, brother Fraser, won't bear it. Now again he is very good, 'Do you read your Bibles for yourselves? Do you pray?' Now he is speaking very mischievously, appealing to the Wesleyans about surplices, &c.: and contrasting them with winning living souls: and so he stops, applauded for the last bit of mischief, leaving, as Lord Nelson has said, the impression that 'the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink' means 'there are no sacraments.' Now old Woodford speaks: he has been rapturously received and is speaking excellently well. Of the 'Old Church.' 'The Church of England not an aristocratic Church' (*very* fine; in his best mode) an analysis of the real religious state of the town, lightly but very effectively done. Why do respectable working-men not worship? 'Talk it out, sift it, weigh it, twist it, and then come and tell us what we can do to take the stones out of your path and make the way easier to you; and do what you can to bring others with you. You can do what we cannot—you can pass thresholds we cannot cross,' &c. He has ended excellently in great applause. Bishop of Ripon before closing wishes to say a word. Universal interest in the Congress—shared by Nonconformists, including our chief civil magistrate: the mayor, a Baptist, has shown all help (applause). (He gave us turtle soup to-day.) He watches for the welfare of the good old Church of England, and he *may* speak to-night, and so he rises. Stupendous applause—speaks sensibly and well. The clock strikes ten, and we break up in search of Horizontality.—Ever your very affectionate

S. WINTON.

To his son Ernest he writes :—

October 23, 1872.

Having just despatched some thirty-three diocesan letters, I begin a letter to you which I hope to finish to-morrow and despatch from Lavington. I will give you a little diary of my life since that sad goodbye. I got to Leeds the Wednesday night tired out; but having written the greater part of my Congress sermon in the train. I found Prevost, Glynne, the Bishop of Carlisle waiting for me for a 10 o'clock dinner. The Congress . . . . was certainly a success: they were extraordinarily kind to me, and the Leeds workmen welcomed me and, as I was delighted to witness, Woodford, with a true Yorkshire welcome.

November 3.—Hollycombe. Confirmation at 11; a very interesting one, I think. After service Hawkshaw came and took me to Sir W. Erle's, who most pleasant. He told me story of Lord Westbury, who said to him, 'My dear fellow, why do not you attend the Privy Council?' 'Oh, because I am old and deaf and stupid.' 'But that's no reason at all, for I am old, and Williams is deaf, and Colonsay is stupid, and yet we make an excellent Court of Appeal.'

November 27.—Winchester. Early Communion. Chapter and Dean's family. When we came out he said, 'We have made a good beginning at all events.' After hasty breakfast to town. A woman calling herself Mrs. —— came to see me: a striking, sad, almost despairing passionate countenance. Great traces of beauty. She 'must have time.' I could not give it to-day. Wrote to Burrows, to whom she said she would go: but I a little sad at not being able to enter into it, for fear of losing one. The Athanasian Committee. Salisbury, Carnarvon, Lyttelton; Bishops of Rochester, Chester, Lichfield, Chichester; Gathorne Hardy, B. Hope, Maclagan, Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Pusey. Down to Up Park. Hyltons and Denmans there.

November 29.—Up Park. Finished Confirmation scheme. Then took a long and delightful ride; much meditation—by those trees to which I walked a boy from Hodson's: perfectly remember I not happy like the others there, wanting a τέλος and worshipping my father—and God of His wonder-

ful mercy has led me until now. Wrote, Denman, A—— (bless her) and Reg. helping. A——'s lecture upon overwork.

The Bishop of Winchester to Sir Charles Anderson.

Somerley, Ringwood, November 25, 1872.

I must write you one line to-day to say how earnestly I hope you may see many more returns of it with the health and vigour God has prolonged to you, and still more the lively affections which years have not abated. I have prayed for you this morning my very dear old friend. May God bless you. I am come here for Confirmations, Consecrations, &c. The workmen are about the house and grounds and everything is being done admirably and effectively, and a very nice as well as fine place it is growing after years of neglect, with capital pictures and what is better, capital people inside. Lady Normanton is a prime favourite of mine and her eldest daughter, whom I confirmed yesterday, is charming. I go to-morrow to Winchester to institute publicly our old friend Bramston to the Deanery. How I wish it was our dear friend Prevost.

In answer to an appeal to take a little care of himself, he writes to his daughter-in-law :—

Ockley Court, Dorking, December 4, 1872.

Many thanks for your dear letter this morning. I have been consecrating a church and preaching this morning and as I had to begin the day with a dose I feel beaten this afternoon and am staying in my room writing a few letters and meaning to rest instead of knocking about. So you see how obedient I am.

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce.

Sandringham, December 7, 1872, 6 P.M.

My dearest A.—I arrived here about an hour and a-half ago and find your letter, for which many thanks. I am really better to-day. We have all been having tea, bowls, talk together and I have just come up to write you a line. We have here, coming with me, Lord and Lady Cowley, Sir A. Helps, General Reilly, Gibbs; and coming down to-night, Lord

Carnarvon (having lost his train), and the Duke of Edinburgh. Disraeli puts off from her illness. God bless you my darling. The Princess is charming and the children *very* nice; but no one like A—— and her cherubs. Yours,

S. W.

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce.

Sandringham, December 8, 1872.

I turn to you for a little *home* feeling. We had *quite* a pleasant evening last night. I sat next to the Princess at dinner and she talked a great deal and so pleasantly. Then we received the Duke of Edinburgh, who was a cheerful addition to the evening party and we chatted on till near 12. At about 12 the smokers all went to smoking-room, billiards and bowls and as I told the Prince I always went off at 12 on Saturday night I was excused and went to my room and in due course to bed. I am all right I am thankful to say today. Got up between 7 and 8 and prepared sermon. Breakfast 10. Church 11. A nice service and at the end of it I baptised the black boy they brought from Egypt. The Prince and Princess and Sir W. Knollys stood god-parents—all the congregation present, after the sermon, and I had preached a little about it to them. The young lad was much affected and it was altogether a striking sight. The Prince gave the name, Albert Alexander. After service we walked about the grounds with the Prince, &c., and had luncheon and now in ten minutes are to assemble for a walk and I have stolen up to talk to my dear A——. Seeing these children makes me very hungry for my Willie and Ba Ba.[4]

Now I have stolen away from the walking party and come to read my Office, as there is no afternoon prayer and to write one or two letters. The party breaks up to-morrow morning. I am ever, with dear love to Reg. and my beloved grandsons, your loving

S. WINTON.

The Bishop of Winchester to Sir Charles Anderson.

Ashridge, December 10, 1872.

I got here yesterday from Sandringham, where I had a very pleasant visit. The Prince shines as a host in the midst

[4] His grandchildren.

of his family and the Princess is most charming. The Cowleys too and others were very pleasant company. She is one of the most agreeable women I know and he full of knowledge of men and events or things. The Duke of Edinburgh too was particularly pleasant. This is always a charming house. He [5] so good and so true and kind, and she quite bright in her beauty and loveliness. Lady Marion Alford and Freddie Leveson very pleasant and Vyner. I had not heard that dear Massingberd was really gone. He is a great loss. As you cannot come to me at Lavington, you must let me hear of you there. I am ever your heartily affectionate

S. WINTON.

The Bishop of Winchester to Miss Thornton.

Lavington, December 27, 1872.

Really as the band who knew and loved our father grows smaller and as, year by year, it seems to become for the new generation and the Recordites impossible to understand how anyone can be a good Churchman and yet an Evangelical, a believer in the Sacraments and yet an abhorrer of 'the confessional' and a scorner of the little apish Romanism of the Ritualists, I cling with an almost spasmodic tenacity to such as you. So you see you cannot shake me off by not coming. And I am here I hope for three weeks; reading imaginary letters to my grandchildren and settling what shall be grubbed and what shall be planted and, yesterday, writing seventy letters, but am always very affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

December 18.—To All Saints', Knightsbridge. To marry Lady Di.[6] Back and to Zanzibar Committee. Wrote a little. Rail to Southampton and wrote down. Heard Basil lecture—bold, manly, unpugnacious. A great deal of power; so Woodford also judged. After, we together at Deanery.

December 21.—Matins 8.30. Communion, &c., 10. Then with young men. Evening charge on Absolution and Confession. —— greatly upset by my protest against the intro-

[5] Lord Brownlow.

[6] Lady Diana Beauclerk married Baron Huddlestone.

duction of anything like the Roman view. Dr. Monsell agreed.

December 28.—Lavington. Up early. Matins. Letters. Then wrote hard for some four hours to write out substance of charge at St. Mary's, Southampton. Rode to Burton and home by Common. Then wrote letters till six. Evening pleasant. The three little cherubs quite delightful. My heart very low this Christmas. Ernest suffering. Reg. far from strong. Bas. so worn by his work and its anxieties. Yet, Praise the Lord, O my soul.

December 31.—All day poured with rain. I wrote some fifty letters. The Mitfords dined. She, as ever, most pleasing. A pleasant evening. After they were gone, family prayers, and so run out the sands of another year. God be praised. God have mercy.

CHAPTER XV.

(1873.)

DEATH OF THE REV. H. VENN—DIARY—THIRTEEN TO DINNER—LAST SERMON AT LAVINGTON—DEATH OF HENRY WILBERFORCE—VISIT TO PARHAM—LETTERS TO SIR C. ANDERSON—SIR R. PHILLIMORE—DEAN GARNIER'S DEATH—THE JUDICATURE BILL—PRIVATE CONFESSION—LAST SPEECH IN HOUSE OF LORDS—LETTER FROM LORD GRANVILLE—THE BISHOP'S DEATH—LETTER FROM PRINCE OF WALES—SPEECHES IN HOUSE OF LORDS AND CONVOCATION ON THE BISHOP—MR. GLADSTONE'S SPEECH AT WILLIS'S ROOMS—'SAMUEL WILBERFORCE. AT REST.'

ON January 6 the Bishop writes to the Rev. R. W. Randall, who was formerly Rector of Lavington :—

This new year I celebrated early in Lavington Church, and I trust we did indeed begin the year with God. . . . I have a far more sustained sense than formerly of the nearness of the end. Otherwise I cannot say that I feel much older.

January 2.—Lavington. My night greatly broken. *Exceedingly* depressed this morning. God only knows how tired. But after breakfast set doggedly to work. Wrote till just 3. Then rode. Dear old Paddy[1] suddenly on down fell lame. *Eheu!* My Bas., C., and Herbert came.

This letter to Miss Thornton refers to the death of the Rev. H. Venn, who for many years was the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society :—

The Bishop of Winchester to Miss Thornton.

Lavington, January 14, 1873.

I thank you greatly for your letter. Dear old 'Father G.' He never knew how much I cared for him or how tenderly

[1] The Bishop's horse, who survived his master till this year (1882), and is buried as near the churchyard as circumstances permit.

affectioned I was to him. We travelled once before the flood, he, Mary Elliott, Robert, and I, up to my father's at the lakes; and he was so associated with beloved memories that they entwined themselves like the wreaths of the honeysuckle around his whole life. He *was* devoted to C. M. S., and to be capable of such devotion shows something above (*sic*). Once or twice through 'The Record' and otherwise he has smitten me hard when he thought I in any way wronged C. M. S.; but I no more resented it than I should have resented Sir Launcelot's chivalry for his Queen. How I wish we had you here.

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce.

Rail to London, January 22, 1873.

Thanks for your dear note. We had a pleasant evening last night (at Chichester). A small party; Gaisford; the Loders of High Beeches, Miss Hubbard, the family, and the Pens: our dear B.[2] looked charming. . . . Do you remember tall Canon Best, who came to us at Lavington? He has been taken suddenly by a stroke of paralysis, never recovering so as to know anyone; only three years my senior. These things preach. 'Be ye also ready.'

On January 16 the diary records: 'After disturbed night, woke feeling hunted and worn. To Church and committed all to God.' Such entries as this, some of which have been given, constantly recur through the diary, and show how very near the Bishop lived to His Master, how, in all troubles, sorrow and weariness, he took the burden straight to the One who had promised to give rest.

Mention has already been made[3] of a book, once his wife's book, in which from time to time the Bishop recorded his own review of his life. Some extracts from this book are here given with their dates:—

[2] Lady Milbanke, sister of Mrs. R. G. Wilberforce.

[3] Vol. i. p. 318.

July 19, 1861.—Have been reading these over with prayer [his resolutions]. I hope a little ground gained.

What I want: To have Christ *in me*—a presence, a power, a moulding life.

Mem. Every day by a special resolution with prayer to devote that day, with all I can see of its duties, to God's glory, in God's strength. To bring the detail of my life more into communion with the life of Christ. . . . The greatly increased solitariness of my position from this beloved's[4] death, a new call to lean more on God. Be more inward with Christ. Oh, grant it! Her blessed peace stirs me up to follow her as she Christ. The increase of the *inward* life what I want.

July 14, 1863.—Survey *my Life.* What wonderful advantages—my father's son, his favourite, and so, companion. My good mother, such surroundings. My love for my blessed one, compassing me with an atmosphere of holiness—my ordination—my married life—my ministerial. Checkendon, its bliss, and its work opening my heart. Brighstone, Alverstoke, the Archdeaconry, the Deanery, Bishopric, friends. My stripping bare in 1841. My children. Herbert's deathbed. How has God dealt, and what have I *really* done—for HIM? *Miserere Domine* is all my cry.

Cuddesdon Chapel.—After meditation on Death, resolve:

(I.) to take periodic times for renewing this meditation;

(II.) to strive to live more in the sight of Death;

(III.) to commend myself more entirely, as dying creature into the Hand of the only Lord of Life.

February 4, 1873.—Lavington. Up betimes. Wrote a little for Knox [the Bishop was writing a review for the 'Quarterly' of 'Autumns on the Spey,' by Mr. Knox[5]]. After breakfast packed and wrote again. At 2.30 off. Wrote in train. At Merstham consecrated the Churchyard in the dark. Impromptu service in Church; preached on the scene—the dark *out*side; the light *in*—the parable of Death. Large

[4] Mrs. Sargent. See p. 17.

[5] It is somewhat singular that the Bishop's last contribution to the *Quarterly Review* should have been on the same subject as his first, viz. Natural History; the first article he ever wrote for the *Quarterly* being a Review of a book called *Ornithological Rambles in Sussex*, written by the same author, Mr. Knox.

party—Wynters, Vyse, Penrhyns, Bourke and Lloyd, Clutton, Reg. and A—.

February 8.—London. Breakfast, Grillion's. Great attendance. Elected Russell Gurney and Sir James Paget. Then to Lambeth, and after three-quarters of an hour to British Museum and back to Lambeth till 5. Athenæum with letters. Home, wrote. The Bishops of Rochester and Chichester dined with me. A pleasant evening.

February 16.—Prepared sermon. In Mr. Rucker's carriage drove to All Saints', Wandsworth. Very good congregation, and collected 50*l*. Luncheon at Mr. Rucker's. All most hospitable. Pictures beautiful. Houses and air plants quite delightful. They most kind. Home. Service at Chapel Royal. Walked home with W. E. G. In spirits about his measure.

February 22.—After breakfast saw several. British Museum Standing Committee. Then home for Institutions. Took A— to Royal Academy. Home and wrote for 4 hours. Dinner and wrote till 10.45; when to Speaker's with A—. Home in half an hour and wrote till 1.

With reference to the Bishop's constant writing, as shown in this and other extracts from the diary, and his large correspondence, a clergyman writes :—

'Seeing the Bishop look so pale and worn, I asked him why he did not keep a secretary? He said that it would be certainly a great relief to do so, but then so many people would be disappointed. "For instance," he remarked, "a clergyman at Huddersfield writes to ask me, at Cuddesdon, to go to the North to preach on some special occasion. Of course I cannot comply with his wish. But I write a refusal myself with a few kind words, which makes it less annoying, whereas my secretary would say it was 'impossible,' and the poor man would feel that he had made a mistake." This was the kind feeling which, expressed in nearly these words, made the Bishop a slave to his desk and often hindered his rest.'

March 1.—London. After breakfast and prayers, off for Farnham. Saw dear old Bishop, who very well. Then wrote

a little. To Headley. Fair Confirmation, but rather cold. Home. Charles Sumner came. I tired, and, alas, drowsy, whilst —— talking to me with interest about Crondall. I hope I did not discourage him.

March 6.—Off early for Beddington. Addressed candidates, morning and evening, on first lesson—Numbers xiv., &c. Morning, Courage in God; evening, Courage for God.

March 7.—Morning, early. Address on Reward of Courage *for* God. With candidates almost all day. Addressed at night, on Reward of Courage *in* God. First lesson, Caleb and Joshua.

March 13.—Strathfieldsaye. Early, read and wrote. After breakfast with Joyce through snow, the trees all covered, and most beautiful in sunlight, to Tadley. Woolverton, where luncheon, and examined Church, and on with Pole to Kingsclere, where nice Confirmation. Back to Woolverton and Ewhurst, where dear old Plowden rebuilding Church. Wrote with Woodford hard.

March 25.—Alresford. After breakfast with Mrs. Sumner up to Medstead. Confirmation too few: but marks of work. Then rode with Sumner to Bradley, where Plow and son from Zambesi. Examined all, and rode through Bradley wood and its mud to Bentworth and back to Medstead, some 12 miles. Luncheon, and on to Ropley. Confirmation, cold: people indevout. Then Bishops Sutton, and home: wrote.

April 2.—Confirmation at Hawley—nice. Back to Hawkley Hurst. Then to Liss with Ernest. London. Bounty Benefactions Committee. Then walked with Bishop of Chichester to University Assurance. Thence home, and drove to Kennington. Confirmation at Elsdale's. Rude man shouting at me as semi-Papist. I visited Devon in bed with fever: back and with A. and Ernest. Dined Grillion's (13). Duke of Cleveland, Salisbury, Stanhope, Houghton, Lowe, Walpole, Sir P. Egerton, Adderley, Paget, Disraeli, Whiteside, Fremantle—Lord Salisbury and Disraeli I think, checked each other.

April 5.—Very early: wrote, &c. To Chawton, a very nice Confirmation. Large parish attendance and great quietness, D. G. Then back to Thedden Grange. Walk with

Wood, and thought I saw our hill, but doubtful. To Shalden and Lasham. A very nice Confirmation. Then drove to Basingstoke. I to Windsor Castle. Dined with Queen, she looking very well. The Van de Weyers, to my great satisfaction—Prince and Princess Christian, Leopold, Lady Churchill. In drawing-room many more. The Queen talked with me in a very friendly sort a good while.

April 10.—Southampton. Early. Matins 8. Celebration 11. Then wrote letters till luncheon, and hard to work on lecture on Catacombs. Walked with Bas. to Rycrofts, &c. Back and finished lecture. Large attendance and well received. Tried to keep line of Church as against Rome and Dissent. Back, and supper. Bas. a cold, alas!

To his daughter-in-law the Bishop writes from the Deanery, Winchester: April 12.

I have had a very hard time of it—lecturing, confirming, preaching. I had such a congregation last night at the Cathedral, hundreds going away unable to get standing room. The Dean was very affectionate and jolly with me. To-day I have large Confirmations at Alverstoke and Gosport. God bless you, dear one, with all Easter blessings.

And to his son Ernest he writes on Easter Day: 'I am well, but I am very much tired, and should like to go to sleep for a week or a fortnight.' A few days later (April 23) he writes: 'I am very low.'

April 15.—Bournemouth. Early, and prepared sermon. Little walk on Cliff Edge with Bennett. Beautiful. To consecration of St. Clement's. All most disturbing. Had to have two candles by Holy Table put out. Hymn stopped in Offertory. Alas for me! spilled some of the consecrated wine, as for 45 years I have *never* done, from long angular foot-base of cup, which I did not see, catching in cloth: quite overset me.

April 16.—Rail to London: wrote. Went to see Gull in vain. . . . Off for Ockley. Heard to-day nightingales in full

song. Cuckoo heard yesterday. I saw first swallow Tuesday at Bournemouth.

Sunday, April 20, the Bishop was at Lavington, and in the afternoon of that day he preached at Graffham. This sermon was the last he ever preached to his own people in that dearly-loved Sussex home. The text was, 'Peace I leave with you.' The Bishop had never preached on that text before, and the loving, mournful tenderness which ran through the sermon seemed almost as if he knew he was taking farewell.

The diary of April 24 records: 'Heard that dearest Henry left us Wednesday morning at 3—in peace.' The next letter to Miss Thornton refers to the death of Henry Wilberforce, the Bishop's youngest brother.

The Bishop of Winchester to Miss Thornton.

Winchester House, April 30, 1873.

My dear Marianne Thornton,—'For he saith the old is better.' After all, what is like the friendship which runs up into the Babyhood and the Fatherhood? No letter has stirred the embers and lighted up the fires like yours. Dear Henry! what a charm there was about him, if you knew him ever so little. His very faults were charming: that tendency to give the reins to any high and noble feeling and let the panting steeds dash where they would: the way he, every now and then at a sudden turn, reminded me of my dear father—not when the swell of my father's soul was on, and the diapason sounding, but at some rather curious note of the 'Vox Humana'—was wonderful. I saw him last in October: so wasted that you could hardly recognise him; the keen, playful intellect sinking under the weight of bodily sickness; and then the ready pen grew so languid that of late it has taken him a week to write a letter to me. Well! he is all right. Though he made (under his wife's influence mainly, and under Manning's denunciations, and that touched the want of his character, cool courage when he was not excited) the

wrong decision, yet it was to give up all for what he thought the voice of Christ, and he will be no loser for following an echo, when he thought he was following the true voice, though the false echo led him away from where the true voice spake. I have felt all these deaths deeply: and I have all but lost Reginald's angel eldest boy: the most entirely loveable child I ever knew: but when he was on the very edge of the other world, God has heard our prayer and given him back. May it be for good! I am, ever very affectionately, your old friend

S. WINTON.

May 4.—Early to prepare scrmon for Whitehall Chapel. Morning confirmed and celebrated at St. Mary's, Southwark. Carriage broke, and might have had a bad accident, D.G. escaped. Rather nice service. Afternoon preached Whitehall Chapel. Collected 45*l.* Walked with Gladstone.

May 6.—After breakfast wrote till 20 to 11; with Prevost in brougham to Convocation. All day there, writing, &c. House of Lords. Rode and called on Archbishop of York. Dined Sir W. James with Ernest, Gladstones, Godleys, &c. Gladstone much talking how little real good work any Premier had done after 60: Peel: Palmerston, his work all really done before: Duke of Wellington added nothing to his reputation after. I told him Dr. Clarke thought it would be physically worse for him to retire. 'Dr. Clarke does not know how completely I should employ myself,' &c.

May 10.—Early wrote. Dear Prevost went. British Museum. Examined birds. . . . Home: wrote: rode with Ernest. Dined Lord Sydney's to meet the King and Queen of Belgians. Sutherlands, Cadogan, Gladstones, Hamiltons, Torrington. Gladstone again talking of 60 as full age of Premier. Cadogan speaking of his fall from power as accomplished.

May 24.—Breakfast, at which E—— (his daughter). Saw many. British Museum, and Sons of Clergy. With E—— to International. Then short ride. Then dinner at Archbishop of York's. A good many Bishops, both of England and Ireland, and not one word said which *implied* we were apostles. *Eheu, eheu*; very low—partly physical—tooth-ache—personal, family, Diocesan.

On May 31 the Bishop was at Parham with his old and dear friend Lord Zouche, endeavouring to give him the comfort he knew so well how to give. Lord Zouche was in great suffering, caused by an illness which could only terminate fatally.

The diary records:—

May 31.—A talk alone with Zouche, D. G., very satisfactory. A simple humble faith, resting on 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just.' His fear of coming pain. Question as to insensibility after death. Clear to me that God is bringing him home through these fires. Rode to Lavington —mind resting somewhat on God, and blessing Him for power of enjoying the beauties of His world round me.

Of this ride the Bishop writes to his daughter-in-law, that it was 'one of those never to be forgotten.' It was his last visit to Lavington, and it was with difficulty that he tore himself away from that lovely place.

This letter to Sir C. Anderson further describes the visit to Parham:—

The Bishop of Winchester to Sir Charles Anderson.

Parham Park, May 31, 1873.

My dearest Anderson,—I came down here yesterday evening, mainly to see if I could, as R. Phillimore assured me I could, be of any use spiritually to dear Zouche. . . . He is quite manifestly fitting, under God's hand, for the great change. I had a long private time with him this morning, and, really, all is with him as one could wish in those greatest matters. I stay with him till Monday. The beauty of the place yesterday and to-day, the perfection to which he has brought everything, makes the contrast of his sudden striking down all the more touching. I never saw the country more lovely. The great oaks, limes, and elms in their first brightest green; the dark old Scotch firs, with their red stems and branches and bright forming cones. I crept up under them yesterday to watch the herons, a most charming sight.

Some flying with food for the hatched young, and as they come over the nest dropping their outstretched legs and feeling for a safe footing, whilst they beat the air vehemently to keep their poise; some sitting upon the top of the nest, the white neck gleaming in the sun, and the sharp beak turning every way as they keep their look-out. To-day I have ridden over to Lavington, and everything was in glory—horse-chestnuts, oaks, beech, elms, rhododendrons. Only the marks of the frost of the 20th were very sad, large oaks with every leaf shrivelled up and black as if they had been burnt. . . . How I wish I *could* come and see my black-headed gulls; but I have daily work for awhile. Ever affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

To Sir Robert Phillimore, a most intimate friend of Lord Zouche's, the Bishop writes :—

Parham, June 2, 1873.

My dear Phillimore,—I got down here Friday night, and a most deeply interesting visit it has been. I trust that I have been able to be a real comfort to him. I only wish that I could stay and minister to him. I shall, if possible, return to him. I never, in all my pastoral experience, saw a more beautiful simplicity of faith. It is more like a child's mind than one with his varied, and even remarkable, intellectual gifts. This of itself is to me most comforting, for it must be the work of God the Holy Ghost, and I do believe that he has passed through his darkest time, and that the light is increasing round him. I am very grateful to you for telling me about him. I too much, I know, shrink with men like him from entering all at once on spiritual matters, for fear of repelling; but with the clue you gave me I had no difficulty here, and his welcome of direct religious intercourse was instant and complete. I have to leave to-day for a Confirmation to-day, organ dedication to-morrow, and Ordination examination after at Newport, Isle of Wight. With affectionate greeting to all yours, I am your ever affectionate

S. WINTON.

June 7.—Newport. Early. Prepared last address. Wrote a little after early Communion and breakfast. Then having the young men separately. Rode in the afternoon with Connor on his horse: on Downs, near Brighstone, such old memories awakening! Back and Church at 6.30. Delivered charge on 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' Woodford wants me to publish it: says the interpretation to him quite original and perfectly convincing.

This refers to the address delivered by the Bishop to the Candidates for Ordination, which was held at Newport in the Isle of Wight.

June 17.—Bishop of Edinburgh to breakfast. Much talk as to Colonial Bishops' Bill. Great fears of injury to Scotch Church on all sides. Wrote—dearest Ernest helping. Then he with me to Esher—Confirmation. Back, and to National Society and House of Lords. Rode. Dined with G. Hardy. Sat, by order, next to Princess Louise: she very pleasant.

This letter refers to the death of the venerable Dean of Winchester, Dr. Garnier, who was Dean when the Bishop was Canon of Winchester. Dean Garnier had recently, owing to debility caused by extreme old age, resigned the Deanery.

The Bishop of Winchester to Mrs. Pilkington.

June 30, 1873.

My dear Mrs. Pilkington,—I cannot hear of the peaceful departure of my kind old friend without writing you a single line of kindly remembrance—condolence it cannot be, for he is set free from the manifold infirmities and dishonouring accidents which of necessity waited on his extreme age: and yet there will be to your loving heart a pang in no longer being able to minister to the very weaknesses which made him so dependent upon you. Will you kindly express to Mrs. H. Garniet the remembrance in which I hold his family? I am most sincerely yours,

S. WINTON.

July 1.—After prayers and breakfast, to S.P.G. Celebrated, and addressed Japanese missionaries, whom may God bless: prayed, I hope earnestly, for them. Convocation, long, wearisome, and, I fear, not useful talking. Then Bounty Board. Then Gladstone's. Presented to the Shah (of Persia), and some talk on House of Lords and his visit. Dined Lord Henry Scott. Pleasant, though very tired.

The next letters refer to a subject that has already been mentioned, viz. the exclusion of the spiritual element from the Supreme Court of Appeal.[6] The Bishop, as will be seen, suggested that the apparent initiation of this addition to the Judicature Act should be by the House of Commons. There it was carried, and with some additions this amendment was agreed to by the House of Lords on July 24.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

July 3, 1873.

My dear Gladstone,—Now that Scotland and Ireland have been included in the Judicature Bill, can you not strike out the only other exception, *the appeal* in cases ecclesiastical. There was a very united opinion indicated in favour of this in the House of Lords, and the only reason it was not pressed was the Chancellor's fear of loading the Bill in the Commons. Now, if it could be put in in the Commons it would be the greatest conceivable gift to the Church. I do not expatiate; but if *you* think fit I would see G. Hardy, or anyone you indicate. I am, ever affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Bishop of Winchester.

July 4, 1873.

My dear Bishop of Winchester,—You will learn with surprise, as well as pleasure, that Mr. Hardy's proposal was at once adopted.

[6] Vol. iii. chap. 4.

Such a concert of unanimity is a matter really of rare occurrence in the House of Commons.

I hope that when the time comes in the House of Lords, if the Bill should be endangered by movement from any quarter, you will do all in your power (and it is much) to verify the assurance you have given me, or, at least, the conviction you have expressed to me, that the great body of the Bishops regard with favour this alteration of the law. I remain affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Bishop of Winchester to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

July 5, 1873.

My dear Gladstone,—I am indeed delighted at this unanimity. I will do all I can about the Bishops. I believe them to be generally favourable, but it is hard getting them up at the end of a session.

Canterbury, York, and London will, of course, oppose. But with the opposition so committed I cannot apprehend any real danger. I am, my dear Gladstone, affectionately yours,

S. WINTON.

The system of private confession, which had for some years been steadily growing in the Church of England, came this year within the official cognisance of the Episcopate, a discussion upon it took place in Convocation, and on July 4 the Episcopate agreed upon a Declaration, which was made public on July 23. The line which Bishop Wilberforce took on this question, both in Convocation and in his Diocese, was identical with that which he took in 1850, in his correspondence with Dr. Pusey.[7] Apart, however, from his speeches in Convocation on the matter, the Bishop made three distinct and clear utterances on the subject of private Confession, during this the last year of his life. The first was at Southampton, in an address to

[7] Vol. ii. chap. 3.

the Candidates for Ordination at Christmas, and was printed in January 1873. The second was in a published letter to Major-General Tryon, written on February 25. The third and last, on July 15 at Winchester House, was in an address to the Rural Deans of the Diocese. The diary for the day says: 'Conference. God enabled me to speak to them. Marvellous unanimity.' This last was published after the Bishop's death, by the Rev. Canon Hoare, from notes which were made by him and some others at the time. These notes naturally gave prominence to those of the Bishop's remarks which seemed to favour the line of thought of those who took them, and therefore this pamphlet does not carry the same stamp of authority as the other two, which came from the Bishop's own hand.

These utterances were identical in themselves, and in the first, which dealt with the subject *in extenso*, the arguments used are so precisely similar to those used in 1850 that it seems worth while to quote from the letter to Major-General Tryon, in which the Bishop sums up this Charge delivered at Southampton; to show that, however much or little the Bishop may, in obedience to the laws of progressive movement, have varied his attitude in regard to mere Ritual observances, yet on a matter of this sort, in which doctrine was involved, he never stirred one step from the ground he had originally taken:—

> What the Church of England allows, I am bound to allow; what she discourages, I discourage; what she condemns, I condemn.
>
> At Southampton, on the occasion of the recent ordination, I stated, in a Charge publicly delivered, what I considered to be the duty of the Clergy of the Church of England on this subject.
>
> I will briefly repeat it here. She distinctly condemns the

system which existed among us at the time of the Reformation. That system required confession to a priest from everyone, especially before communicating, as a condition for the obtaining forgiveness of sins; further, it was developed into a great engine for the priest assuming the direction of souls, and hence almost of necessity it interfered with the sacredness of family relations and with the independence of conscience, whilst it led to the compilation of manuals of direction which polluted the mind of the priest, and too often acquainted his flock, and especially the young and innocent, with sins of which they would otherwise be ignorant.

Against all this our Church protested; but she never for a moment deprived her children of the privilege of opening at their own will their hearts to the ministers of God's Word, not to obtain forgiveness of sin, but that, 'by the ministry of God's Holy Word,' they 'may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of their conscience.'

This is clearly and comprehensively stated in the Homily on Repentance, by which is proved, from Scripture and the Fathers of the Church, the blessed truth that we ought to acknowledge none other Priest for deliverance from our sins but our Saviour Jesus Christ, who doth most effectually wash away the sins of all those that, with their confession of the same, do flee to Him, and continues thus:—

'I do not say but that if any do find themselves troubled in conscience, they may repair to their learned curate, or pastor, or to some other godly learned man, and show the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they may receive at their hand the comfortable salve of God's Word; but it is against the true Christian liberty that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore in the time of blindness and ignorance.'

Here is the very pith of the teaching of the Church of England as to Confession: it is not necessary for the forgiveness of sins, or the maintenance of the life of God in the soul; it may not be enforced in any, it may be used by those who desire it to ease the conscience of doubt and trouble.

July 8.—Early—wrote. Rail to Leatherhead. Settled sermon for to-day, and composed one for to-morrow. Gave at Leatherhead prizes to St. John's Foundation School. Luncheon and toasts. Preached, re-opening, 'Arise into thy resting place.' To London. House of Lords. Cairns's illusory argument on Judicature Bill. Dine Holford's. Princess Mary and very pleasant party. House most beautiful in London.

On the last Sunday of the Bishop's life, July 13, he preached and confirmed at Clapham, the place, it will be remembered, where he was born. The diary records: 'The day very wet, and I very much tired. Back, and wrote. St. James's Chapel Royal.'

July 14.—Wrote. Hawaiian Committee. Photographed, with A——, at Stereoscopic. Meeting of Bounty Board Committee. Gladstone's luncheon to Prince and Princess of Wales. House of Lords. Dinner of Rural Deans and Archdeacons.

July 15.—Early. 8.30 Communion. Breakfast. Wrote. House of Lords for Oranmore's attack. Rode with Ernest. Dinner to Archdeacons and Rural Deans, and great evening party of clergy and others.

The attack by Lord Oranmore and Browne mentioned in this entry, had reference to the refusal of the Bishop to allow a clergyman, the Rev. R. Maguire, to deliver a series of ultra-Protestant lectures in the Church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the churchwardens of which Church had requested the interference of the Bishop. Upon this, Lord Oranmore attacked the Bishop in the House of Lords, and accused him of being a sympathiser with the Roman Catholic religion, because he restrained the lecturer. The whole matter was so unimportant that it would not have been alluded to in these pages, were it not that this attack gave the Bishop, on this the last occasion, as it happened, of his being in the House of Lords, the opportunity to declare

openly before the world his emphatic protest against this charge, which had so often been secretly insinuated. He said :—

I have to complain of the noble lord for saying it was some tendency to these Roman doctrines that had led me to act as I did. That is a most serious charge, as serious an imputation as to charge an officer in the army with disloyalty to his Queen. I hate and abhor the attempt to Romanise the Church of England, and I will never hear anyone make such a charge without telling him to his face that he is guilty of gross misrepresentation.

July 17.—Early, wrote. Ecclesiastical Commission. Home and saw and wrote. To Epsom College for Confirmation and prizes. House of Lords. Wrote. Rode in park with Ernest. Dined Salisbury's—pleasant and sensible evening. M—— (Miss Alderson) sang beautifully.

July 18.—Early. My Ernest, after prayers, off for Lapland. O my God, guard him and bring him back to me in peace! All day shaken by this great parting. Rode without him in the park. Wrote all day. Reginald and A—— went to Drove. Dined Lord Chesham's: pleasant, affectionate. De Vesci's, Sir C. and Lady L. Mill, Bourke, Captain Boscawen, Balfour.

The Bishop was tired and in low spirits on this day, the 18th. Sitting in his study, he said to his daughter-in-law, 'I cannot think why I feel so depressed.' She begged him to come out with her in the carriage, and suggested that they should buy a new carpet for his bedroom at Lavington. To her surprise he acceded to this request—it was always with the greatest difficulty that he could be persuaded to get any comfort for himself—and they drove to Waterloo House, where he chose a carpet, at the same time suggesting that it should be for his daughter-in-law's room instead of his own. He stood on the steps of Winchester House seeing his son and daughter-in-law

depart, taking leave of them with unusual and exceptional tenderness, even with tears. Indeed, to all his sons—who had all been with him that week—his parting was peculiarly affectionate and tender, as if he had a presentiment that it was the last time he should see them.

On Saturday morning, July 19, Sir Robert Phillimore breakfasted by invitation with the Bishop to discuss the Judicature Bill and the necessity of being on the watch about that part of it which dealt with the Appeals in causes Ecclesiastical. Of that last breakfast Sir R. Phillimore thus writes :—

> It was on July 19 that I saw the Bishop for the last time at Winchester House, where I breakfasted with him alone. His extreme dejection of spirits struck me very forcibly that morning. He was by himself in the house, and had lost for the time the society which he valued so much of his children and grandchildren.

The Bishop wrote for some time ; among other letters he wrote this to his daughter-in-law :—

> Winchester House, July 19, 1873.
>
> It is very dull indeed without you ; and I had no bulletin of the beloved ones this morning. I hope to hear to-morrow at Holmbury. I hope that to-day's colder air will not make them worse. I am trying to arrange to get down to Lavington Friday night, and to stay till Saturday at 5, then driving to Chichester, and so get to Portsmouth Saturday evening. My dearest love to Reg. and the darlings. Your dearly loving
>
> S. WINTON.

The Bishop then went to the Athenæum to write there, and from thence he went by train with Lord Granville to Leatherhead. Of what followed Lord Granville has kindly allowed me print this graphic account :—

The Earl Granville to R. G. Wilberforce.

Walmer Castle, Sept. 25, 1882.

Dear Mr. Wilberforce,—It was in Rotten Row that he wished 'to put himself in my hands' for our journey to Holmbury at the end of the week. We hardly spoke in the South Western Railway to Leatherhead. But on getting into a fly which took us to Burford Bridge he became cheerful, and talked a great deal. He appeared to know to whom all the houses we passed belonged, and had some characteristic anecdote to tell of the owners. After getting on a hack hunter, called Carrick Beg ('a little rock'), which Bernal Osborne had bought for me some time before in Ireland, his spirits became like those of a boy; galloping very fast up the long hill, apparently careless as to the ground we were riding over, talking almost incessantly on political, religious, and social topics. He dwelt much on the subject of conversion to Catholicism, and on the character and influence of Dr. Manning, whose name I had mentioned, forgetting at the moment that he had been your mother's brother-in-law. He seemed a little anxious on going down the steep decline leading towards Mr. Farrer's house, and asked whether I was sure it was the right way. At the bottom of the hill, I asked him whether he was ever tired by a long ride. 'Never on such a horse as this.' He then told me, in his pleasantest manner, an amusing story, which indirectly intimated his superior horsemanship over that of a noble and political friend of his and mine. We broke into a gentle canter over a smooth stretch of turf. I was riding on his left, slightly in advance. I heard a thud on the ground, and turning round I saw him lying motionless. From the groom's account, it appeared that the horse, probably a little tired, had put his foot in a gutter of the turf, and stumbled without coming down. Your father must have turned a complete summersault, his feet were in the direction in which we were going, his arms straight by his side—the position was absolutely monumental. I sent the groom for assistance at Mr. Farrer's house. I took off the Bishop's boots, and his neck-handkerchief. I remember my sense of despair at not knowing whether there was anything I could do which

could be of use. For a long time I could feel no pulse; at last I could feel the beating distinctly. I mentioned this to an intelligent bailiff who came with labourers. He said he could see no sign of life. I was afterwards told by the doctor that it was my own pulsations, and not that of what, alas! was a corpse, which I had felt.

I shall never forget the expression of sorrow on the faces of Mr. Gladstone and of my brother when I arrived at Holmbury, at the end of this fearful ride. Yours sincerely,

GRANVILLE.

Lord Granville said that while he was by the Bishop's side he saw a 'look as of satisfaction' come upon his face and settle there. That look as of satisfaction, and the smile that came with it never left that face—it remained there to the very last. Death came to him as he would have wished it to come. He had always dreaded a long illness, or gradual decay, the very thought of the slow wearing out of the body was to him, with his active habits, almost unendurable. The Rev. E. Marshall relates the following incident, which shows how, when almost in the presence of death, there was no fear or shrinking from what is so often called sudden death. The Bishop himself always interpreted the prayer in the Litany to be delivered from 'sudden death' as relating to unprepared death. 'In 1864, the Bishop, when travelling to Cambridge, was in a railway accident, from which he escaped uninjured.[8] Soon after, he was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Foster Melliar, near North Aston in Oxfordshire, where he was confirming. The Bishop described the accident, and said that at the time he thought it was all over with him. "Were you not afraid?" said his hostess. "No, I was not afraid, but I thought that the

[8] The diary thus recorded the accident:—'*February* 10.—Off by train; at Littlebury an accident. Thank God, escaped; but two hours waiting; late for sermon. Platform at Cambridge crowded with young men cheering lustily.'

end was coming, and that it might as well come in that way."' Mr. Marshall, who was sitting by the Bishop, says: 'I was sitting quite close, and was much impressed with the calm but earnest tone in which this was said.' In fact, the thought that his call might be sudden was ever before his mind. To his intimate friend, the Bishop of Rochester, he often said: 'I may be gone in a moment.' The same thought the Bishop had also expressed to another most intimate friend, Dr. Woodford (Bishop of Ely), who thus speaks of the Bishop: 'Never, I firmly believe, did any man live more continuously in the thought of the eternal world.' And the Rev. A. P. Cust,[9] in a sermon on the Bishop's death, says: 'To a near relation of my own, the Bishop said, but a few days before, when speaking of sudden death, "There is no such thing as sudden death to a Christian."'

Mr. Carlyle, when he heard the news of the Bishop's death, made this remark only: 'What a glad surprise!'[1]

The Bishop's body was taken to Mr. Farrer's house, Abinger Hall, where, having been vested in the robes of office, it lay on the drawing-room floor till Monday. Telegrams were at once despatched to the three sons. Basil, the youngest, was first to arrive, from Southampton, and the writer arrived on Sunday evening. The second son, Ernest, landed in England on Thursday night, having travelled day and night after receiving the intelligence of his loss. The inquest, which was of a purely formal nature, was held on Monday. But before it took place, many friends who had already received the intelligence had hastened to Abinger to see the last of the Bishop, whom they so

[9] Dean of York.

[1] Lord Houghton in the *Fortnightly Review.*

loved. Among those who came that Monday morning were Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, and well the writer of these lines remembers the scene in that room—the peaceful body of the Bishop, the lines of care and trouble smoothed out of the face, the beautiful smile of 'satisfaction,' and, kneeling reverentially by that body, Mr. Gladstone, whose sobs attested how deeply his feelings were moved by the sudden loss of his long-tried friend, while at some little distance Lord Granville knelt, moved also to tears by this affecting scene.

Among others who came to Abinger were the Rev. Dr. Monsell and the Rev. L. Burrows, who came from Guildford. Dr. Monsell thus writes :—

> I saw him on Monday lying in his robes, with his Garter ribbon round his neck, and a cross of roses supplying the place of the well-known jewel. Never did he look more noble and dignified. There was a statuesque beauty about his head in the calm composure of death, such as I hardly ever observed so distinctly before. As quiet and as peaceful was that dear face as if he had died in his bed or as if he was but sleeping on his couch. A smile almost seemed to hover around him, as if from that sainted spirit so lately parted from its earthly home. To him the gain is 'semper;' to us the loss 'ubique' and 'omnibus.'

On Monday afternoon the hearse started from Abinger for Lavington. In each village of the Winchester diocese through which it passed the church bells were tolled in homage to the great prelate who had just ceased to reign over it. At Chiddingfold, on the border of Surrey and Sussex, a long halt was made to bait the horses, the hearse was drawn up under the shadow of the church, and, during the whole halt, the bells tolled. The vicar, the Rev. L. M. Humbert, robed, stood on the green of the churchyard, himself the watcher over the body of his Bishop. A stone in the churchyard

wall now bears this record: 'Near this spot at eventide on Monday July 21, 1873, rested the body of Samuel Wilberforce—Bishop of Winchester—on its last journey home to Lavington. By a fall from his horse he was called suddenly from unwearied labour to eternal rest. Be ye therefore ready also.' The body reached Lavington between 11 and 12 at night, and the coffin was immediately placed in the library, where, covered with the Garter robe, it remained till Friday, St. James's Day, July 25.

No public funeral in Westminster Abbey was definitely offered for the Bishop. The Dean of Westminster indeed telegraphed: 'It has been suggested that your father, from his connection with the Abbey, should rest there.' The Mayor and Corporation of Winchester paid a willing tribute to their Bishop's memory, by telegraphing to offer a public funeral in the Cathedral. No such offer could, however be entertained. It had been the Bishop's constant desire, ever since he laid his wife to rest in Lavington churchyard, that when his time came he might rest there beside her. At Cuddesdon, at Lavington, and in London, there hung in his bedroom a picture of Lavington churchyard, 'that I may ever see,' he used to say, 'my own resting-place.'

This wish the Bishop reiterated on the last Sunday of his life. The writer and his wife were walking in the Green Park with the Bishop on Sunday afternoon, when he began to speak about his own death. He then repeated what he had often before said as to himself—that his body was not to be touched more than was absolutely necessary, his robes were to be put on, and, above all, that no power on earth was to prevent his being buried at Lavington by the side of his wife.

Monday morning, July 21, the newspapers spread the intelligence through the country, and with scarcely an exception, the whole of the press, worthily led by 'The Times,' paid their tribute to the almost irreparable loss. The Prince of Wales wrote the following kind and characteristic letter to the member of the family with whom he was personally acquainted :—

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to the Rev. Basil Wilberforce.

Marlborough House, July 23, 1873.

My dear Wilberforce,—Although I have only had the pleasure of meeting you but rarely since we were at Oxford together, I feel I must intrude on your great grief in begging you and your family to accept from the Princess and myself our deepest sympathy and condolence at the irreparable loss you have sustained. I have had the advantage of knowing your lamented father from my earliest childhood, and during the last few years have seen a great deal of him, and I can never forget the many pleasant and instructive hours I have spent in his company when he was a guest in our house and elsewhere. His loss will be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, as no one worked harder in his sacred calling than he did, and no one has left a higher name behind him than he has. I feel that I have lost a kind and valued friend, and can hardly realise the thought that we are to meet no more in this world.

Hoping that you will forgive my trespassing upon you at such a time, believe me, my dear Wilberforce, yours very sincerely,

ALBERT EDWARD.

The Prince also fully intended to be present at the funeral, to mark by his attendance his sense of the loss which he personally, and which the country generally, had sustained. It was only at 12 o'clock on Thursday, the night before the funeral, that he sent for the Hon. C. L. Wood, and told him that at this the

last moment he found it impossible to leave London, and requested Mr. Wood to represent him, and to tell the family how fully he had intended to be present in person, and how much he regretted his enforced absence.

Her Majesty the Queen was represented at the funeral by the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor.

The funeral on St. James's Day was attended by many of the Bishop's friends, and the little church[2] and churchyard were completely filled.

The Bishop was borne to the grave by eight of the labourers on his estate, dressed in white smock frocks. The pall-bearers were his chaplains: Dr. Woodford, now Bishop of Ely, Archdeacon Pott, the Rev. A. P. Cust, now Dean of York, and the Rev. Canon Lloyd. The principal mourners were his sons and their wives, his daughter, his eldest brother William, his brother-in-law the Rev. J. James, and his nephews; also Sir Charles Anderson, the Hon. R. Denman, the Dean of Windsor, the Hon. C. Wood, and the Hon. Sir A. Gordon. Then followed a long procession, composed chiefly of 100 surpliced clergy, and conspicuous among them a clergyman of colour.[3]

In all, there were about 250 people present at the funeral. Among others the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishops of Chichester, Oxford, Peterborough, and Rochester, and Bishops Beccles and Ryan. Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone were prevented by a Cabinet Council from attending, and Sir R. Phillimore by his judicial work.

[2] 'No Church could stand in a more beautiful spot. . . . The trees, the fields, the beautiful hills, the exquisite landscape in the distance, all complete a picture which will long dwell in the memory of even the most heedless of travellers.'—*Rambles among the Hills*, by Louis J. Jennings.

[3] From *Guardian*.

An American clergyman, Dr. Jackson, President of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., was present at the funeral. He had landed on the Saturday before, and the only introduction he had brought in England was to Bishop Wilberforce.[4] Too late to present his credentials to the living prelate, he stood among the mourners around his grave.

The cross which now marks the Bishop's resting-place bears the same inscription as that on the coffin :—

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE,
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,
28 YEARS A BISHOP IN THE CHURCH OF GOD,
DIED JULY 19, 1873,
AGED 67 YEARS.

The 'Guardian' says :—

No Bishop of Winchester had died for forty years, and few knew the traditions to be observed on the occasion; but it was singular to know that the working men of South London were most anxious that the bells should be tolled for hours, as well as ring muffled peals. The churches of St. Saviour and St. Olave, Southwark, and many others in the Bishop's diocese, had flags floating half-mast high throughout the day of the funeral.

In the House of Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the course of an affecting tribute to the Bishop's memory, said : 'It has been my misfortune to differ from him often, but I never knew an occasion on which his kindness of heart did not overcome the effects of any difference which might have arisen from a difference of opinion.'

Lord Carnarvon said the Bishop 'was a scholar, a gentleman, a statesman, and a Churchman; but, above all, he was a steady and consistent friend. He

[4] From *Daily Telegraph.*

was ever ready to uphold his opinions, but he was incapable of the slightest particle of jealousy. In society the Right Rev. Prelate shone and sparkled beyond anyone he had ever known; but even in that respect he was not so remarkable as he was for devotion to his work. Although his connection with the diocese of Winchester was brief, he had left in hundreds of places within that diocese marks of his justice and discretion, and of the vigour of his administration.'

Perhaps the most remarkable tribute on this occasion was Lord Cairns's: 'My lords, if every one of your lordships who has been impressed by the lustre of the eloquence, the splendour of the talents, the unparalleled exertions and energy in the discharge of his great public functions displayed by the late Right Rev. Prelate, was to rise in succession and bear his testimony to what he was, every one of those whom I have now the honour of addressing would rise in his turn and become a speaker.'

Speaking in Convocation on July 23, the Bishop of London, from whom, as this biography shows, Bishop Wilberforce often differed, thus defends the Bishop's memory against the charge of an unworthy ambition, which the 'Record' newspaper had hurled against it. No one can read this eloquent tribute without being convinced how thoroughly Bishop Wilberforce carried into effect his resolution to sacrifice all private feelings for the sake of the Church, a resolution which is in evidence in a letter written on November 30, 1868, to Dean Hook:—'No personal feeling of mine will hinder my using every power God trusts me with to help these men in their work to the utmost.'

'I saw it, in one of the newspapers,[5] brought as a charge against our beloved brother that he was am-

[5] *The Record.*

bitious. Well, if it be ambition to be conscious of great powers and talents, carrying a heavier responsibility than perhaps is borne by many, to have a great desire to use these powers and improve these talents for the service of Him who gave them for the benefit of the Church and people—if this be ambition, I doubt not the Bishop of Winchester was ambitious. It is a noble and holy ambition, which deserves no censure and needs no defence. But what I wish to bear my testimony to is this. It often happens, and to the Bishop of Winchester it certainly happened once at least in his career, that a man inferior to him in gifts and powers was placed above him in a position in which he might have used those singular talents with which God had entrusted him with peculiar advantage. Although he could not but be conscious of this, yet from the meanness of envy or jealousy he was entirely free. Not for one moment were those happy bonds of friendship which had united them before relaxed, nor did he ever hold back his counsel and advice whenever they were applied for. Perhaps it was hardly necessary for me to testify to this. If there be an ambition worthy of a Christian man, that he had; but of ambition which has in it anything sordid or base, of that he was utterly incapable.'

The following magnificent tribute to the memory of his old friend was paid by Mr. Gladstone,[6] who said :—

[6] This speech was delivered on December 3, at Willis's Rooms, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Wilberforce Memorial Fund. This memorial had been decided on at a meeting which was held on the lawn at Lavington after the funeral, to consider the best way of perpetuating the Bishop's memory. A large sum of money was collected, and a really great and adequate memorial might have been raised to the Bishop's memory; but there was a want of organisation, and thus it has happened that while innumerable small memorials were erected throughout the Oxford and Winchester Dioceses, and one in Sussex, the 'Wilberforce House' which should and might have evangelised South London, entirely failed to realise its great object and is only mentioned here in order to account for Mr. Gladstone's speech.

Those who witnessed the Bishop's power and prowess in debate might think that he was nothing more than a Parliamentary debater; those who knew nothing but the brilliancy of his social qualities—exceeded by none, if equalled by any, in his generation—might fail to appreciate the loftiness of his aims, and the true purpose and constant employment of his life. In these things he was great; but those who formed their judgment of him from these things alone, or from these things mainly, would misunderstand the man. They were, indeed, parts of his existence; but they were as dust in the balance with respect to the hold which they took on his character, the place which they occupied in his mind and heart, or the share which they engrossed of his time. If I wished to know the true character of Bishop Wilberforce, I would not ask it from those who have admired his powers as displayed in Parliament, or who felt his charm in society. I would go to other classes of the community, and know from them what was the true and deep nature of the man. To one class above all others, were I able, I would make my appeal. I would make it to those who, from time to time, have been called upon to suffer under the calamities of life; and I affirm, from a wide personal knowledge, that which others too, I have no doubt, can affirm—that wherever there was affliction in the world, thither the heart of Bishop Wilberforce was drawn with resistless power; there, if he had a friendship, he repaired for its exercise; there, if he had no friendship already existing, he endeavoured to found one. I would appeal to another class, were it in our power to take their evidence—I would appeal to the children of this land. I would ask them what they thought of Bishop Wilberforce; of one whom they knew through the press by some of the most charming productions ever written for the young, but who, when they have seen him in the houses of their parents, will recollect how that extraordinary man, for whom nothing was too great and nothing apparently was too small, had for every one of them marks of his attention and his love that left on the hearts of them all a record which they will retain through life. In truth, were I asked to name the most remarkable of all the characteristics of Bishop Wilberforce, I

think I should state it to be this—that while, to a degree surpassing every other man, his time and his mind were apparently absorbed in the great concerns of his diocese and of the Church at large; he, more than any other person I have ever known, seemed to retain a close, intimate, and detailed knowledge of all that was happening in the circles of private life to every one whom he knew. These things never faded from his memory, and he entered into them from day to day with a strength of sympathy and a minutely clear recollection that would have been astonishing even in an unoccupied man. . . .

What was the character of Dr. Wilberforce as a diocesan Bishop? I have said that those might have mistaken him who knew him only in Parliament or only in society. I will go further, and appeal to those who hear me when I say that those would also entirely mistake him who think that in the exercise of his office he was a man whose sympathies could be limited in their range, or could by any fetters be prevented from extending to and embracing all those who felt the same earnestness of purpose with which he himself ever burned. There are those here and elsewhere who well know that, strongly as Bishop Wilberforce was attached to those principles which touch the frame and constitution and office of the Church, the staple of his preaching and the staple of his labours went straight to that which touches the training of the soul of man for the great purposes for which it exists. And it is with reference, not merely to the external labours of his Episcopate, but to its internal aim and purposes, that I ask whether it is an exaggeration to say that the name and character of Bishop Wilberforce ever must stand high among the whole army of diocesan Bishops, not of this country only, but of the whole Christian world, and not of this generation only, but also of the generations that have preceded it. I desire, at least, to avoid using the language of exaggeration, but there is no word adequate to describe the incessant, the unflagging labours of this Bishop throughout the twenty-eight years for which, as his epitaph with noble simplicity records, he was a Bishop of the Church of God. There are no words to describe the character of that activity, beginning and ending with the be-

ginning and end of every day of his life; there are no words which will do the smallest justice to it that would not appear to savour of exaggeration. And this energy, this zeal, this unsparing self-sacrifice, this many-sided mind, which appeared to know all things in this world, except only the charms of rest and repose, could not be bounded even within the limits of a Diocese, but must embrace the whole nation in its cares. There was a phrase of great interest in controversy and in history when first a Bishop of the Christian world came to arrogate or to obtain the name of Universal Bishop. But really, in a milder sense, it is impossible not to be reminded of that name when one considers what was the activity of Bishop Wilberforce over the whole of the land in which we live. . . . Who can count the numbers—they are not in hundreds, they are not in thousands, they are in hundreds of thousands—who in every part of this country listened from time to time to the tones of that silver voice now stilled among us, sometimes like a murmuring brook, sometimes like a trumpet-call? No spot in this land, I may say, can be found—certainly none where there is any considerable concentration of the people—in which that extraordinary influence of his has not been brought to bear, and there was not one in which, when he visited it, he did not seem to spend his entire self on the purpose which he had before him, as though nothing had come before it in his life, and nothing was to come after it. . . .

I say that he was the Bishop, not of a particular Church, not of a particular Diocese, but of the nation to which he belonged. I say that his heart beat high and strong to everything which could stir the feelings or command the understanding of an Englishman. I say that his action went far and wide among us in a degree that never has been known before. . . .

The lines written by the Bishop of Derry and Mrs. Alexander on hearing the news of the Bishop's death, form a fitting end to this biography:—

IN MEMORIAM

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

At rest.

How thin the veil between our eyes
And angels' wings in motion;
How narrow the long ledge that lies
'Twixt us and death's dim ocean!

They rode by sunlit copse and glen,
And 'neath the woodland shadow;
They spurned, with hoofs that rang again,
The cruel sloping meadow.

A plunge, a fall, and to the rock
The veil was rent asunder;
How swift the change, how sharp the sho
How bright the waking yonder!

Old England heard it with a start;
She mourns with voice uplifted,
Mother of many a noble heart,
'But ah! what son so gifted?'

From his own Oxford's storied hall,
Her stream by light oars ruffled,
To where, beside the plane-trees tall,
His Winton's bells are muffled,

The whole land wears the garb of grief
For that great wealth departed—
Her peerless Prelate, Statesman, Chief,
Large-souled and tender-hearted;

The man so eloquent of word,
Who swayed all spirits near him;
Who did but touch the silver chord,
And men perforce must hear him;

Who won rude natures at his will,
And charmed them with the glamour
Of his sweet tongue, and kept them still
Forgetful of their clamour;

Who from no task of Christ's soe'er,
True soldier, sought indulgence;
To him it wore so grand an air,
Was lit with such effulgence;

Who sweetly smiled and deftly planned
And, his true work to fashion,
Like hammers in his skilful hand,
Took every party's passion;

Whom men called subtle overmuch,
Because all threads of beauty
He interworked with magic touch
Into the web of duty,

And from their hundred varying dyes
Wove well a wondrous colour,
That might have pleased malignant eye
More if it had been duller.

He for whom many hearts are sore,
Lost to so many places,
The great cathedral's crowded floor,
A hush of upturned faces,

The village church where children knel
Beneath his hands o'ershading,
And rugged men sweet comfort felt,
Or tender true upbraiding;

The Senate barren evermore
Of the rich voice which stirred it,
The platform where the charm is o'er
That spell-bound all who heard it.

How many a noble deed he planned,
  How many a soul he guided
With sympathy of heart and hand,
  And feelings many-sided!

And when the social lists were lit,
  And worthy foemen tilted,
How flashed the poniard of his wit,
  Keen-bladed, diamond-hilted.

Sleep calm in earth, a Bishop robed,
  Waiting God's golden morrow!
O memory, leave the wound unprobed,
  Nor bring too sharp a sorrow!

Let Love draw near and Heaven-born Faith,
  Where the good saint lies sleeping,
His white face beautiful in death,
  His soul in Christ's own keeping.

THE CROSS AT ABINGER.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Reasons for altering, as follows, the 3rd and 4th Vict. cap. 86, sec. 16, so far as concerns the Supreme Court of Appeal.

On general principles it is not to be desired that the spiritual and legal elements should be mingled in the Supreme Court of Appeal, and grave inconvenience results from the existing mixture under the 3rd and 4th Vict. cap. 86, sec. 16.

The presence of the Spiritualty gives to the Judicial Committee the appearance of being an Ecclesiastical Court, instead of being the Supreme Law Court of the Sovereign revising the decision of the Ecclesiastical Court so as to secure justice being done to the subject. Thus a matter which has been and ought to be decided solely as a matter of law appears to be an ecclesiastical decision, and to rule and even alter the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland.

I. It is therefore desirable, *per se*, to remove the spiritual element from the Judicial Committee.

But, II., It is desirable to make other provision for what is now provided for by that objectionable mixture:—

(1) Because the bare removal of the spiritual element would cause alarm and offence.

(2) Because it is desirable, and according to legal precedent, that the Court should be able to send a question to be answered by experts in the doctrinal statements of the United Church:

(3) Because such a separate acting of the spiritual and legal elements would tend greatly to allay alarm and dissatisfaction now caused by decisions which appear to many zealous members of the Church to alter the Church's doctrine, for the doctrine of the Church being declared by the Spiritualty it would be perceived that the judgment was only a legal decision on the rights of the special case, and not a new rule of doctrine:

(4) Because such cases often involve questions as to the doctrine of the Church as it is declared in her various formularies taken together as a whole, and that on such matters it is desirable that it should be in the power of the Court to demand the opinion of experts as to what is the sum of the Church's doctrine:

(5) Because that the supremacy of the Crown may be most fully maintained:

(6) Because by the proposed machinery one Supreme Court of Appeal might be provided for the United Church, instead of the four separate Supreme Courts which exist at present and may at any time give different and varying decisions:

(7) Because under it the same Supreme Court of Appeal might well and fitly decide appeals from the Irish provinces, from colonial dioceses, and from the provincial Courts of Canterbury and York.

Proposed Alteration.

That whenever, in any case of appeal from any Ecclesiastical Court to the Queen's Majesty in Council, any question shall arise touching the doctrine or ritual of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council shall state such question in writing, and send it to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the opinion of the Episcopal Board of Reference hereinafter mentioned; and the Episcopal Board of Reference shall, if they think fit, or if the promoter or defendant in the suit require it, cause the question to be argued before them by counsel, or by divines being clergymen of the said United Church, or by both; and

the Episcopal Board of Reference shall return their opinion [1] to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and the Judicial Committee, after consideration of such opinion, shall recommend to Her Majesty such judgment upon the case as to them shall seem just.

The Episcopal Board of Reference shall consist of—

The Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin, and the Bishop of London:

Four other Bishops of the province of Canterbury, to be elected by the Bishops of that province:

Two Bishops of the province of York, to be elected by the Bishops of that province:

One Bishop of the province of Armagh, to be elected by the Bishops of that province:

One Bishop of the province of Dublin, to be elected by the Bishops of that province.

As soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this Act the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin shall convene the Bishops of their respective provinces, and cause them respectively to elect the number of members of the Episcopal Board of Reference hereinbefore appointed for each province; and the names of the Bishops elected to be such members shall be recorded in the registries of the provinces to which such Bishops respectively belong; and every Bishop so elected shall continue to be a member of the Episcopal Board of Reference during his life, unless he shall resign his office as such member by writing under his hand and seal addressed to the Archbishop of the province for which he was elected. And whenever any elected member of the Episcopal Board of Reference shall vacate his office as such member, whether by death or resignation, the Archbishop of the province shall, as soon as may be, convene the Bishops of the province, and cause them to elect another Bishop to be a member of the Episcopal Board of Reference, in place of the member who shall have so vacated his office.

[1] This was afterwards changed, and the Clause ran so that, in case of difference, each Bishop should state his opinion. The change was made at the suggestion of the Bishop of St. David's.—ED.

And whenever the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council shall, according to the provisions of this Act, send a question to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the opinion of the Episcopal Board of Reference the Archbishop shall, without delay, send letters missive to all the members of the said Board requiring them to meet for the consideration of such question, at a time and place to be specified in such letter; such time being not less than *fourteen*, nor more than *twenty-eight*, days from the delivery of such question to the said Archbishop: and any number, being not less than seven of the members of the said Board, who shall be assembled in pursuance of such letters, shall be competent to act, and may proceed to consider and return their opinion upon such question, and may adjourn from time to time as to them may seem necessary: and if, at the first or any adjourned meeting, less than seven members of the said Board shall be present, those who are present may adjourn the meeting, and the Archbishop or Bishop of the highest rank who may be present at any meeting of the Board shall preside thereat.

APPENDIX B.

FIRST REPORT.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

YOUR Majesty having been graciously pleased to issue a Commission reciting that 'differences of practice have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, the administration of the Sacraments, and the other services contained in the Book of Common Prayer according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland, and more especially with reference to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said United Church and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministration,'—and that 'it is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry should be made into the matters aforesaid with the view of explaining or amending the said rubrics, orders, and directions, so as to secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as may be deemed essential,'—and enjoining your Commissioners to make diligent inquiry into all and every the matters aforesaid, and to report thereupon from time to time as to them, or any ten or more of them, may appear to be most expedient, having regard not only to the said rubrics, orders, and directions contained in the said Book of Common Prayer, but also to any other laws or customs relating to the matters aforesaid, with power to suggest any alterations, improvements, or amendments with respect to such matters as they, or any ten or more of them, may think fit to recommend,

We, your Majesty's Commissioners, have, in accordance with the terms of your Majesty's Commission, directed our first attention to the question of the vestments worn by the ministers of the said United Church at the time of their ministration, and especially to those the use of which has been lately introduced into certain churches.

We find that whilst these vestments are regarded by some witnesses as symbolical of doctrine, and by others as a distinctive vesture whereby they desire to do honour to the Holy Communion as the highest act of Christian worship, they are by none regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many.

We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress.

We are not yet prepared to recommend to your Majesty the best mode of giving effect to these conclusions, with a view at once to secure the objects proposed and to promote the peace of the Church; but we have thought it our duty in a matter to which great interest is attached not to delay the communication to your Majesty of the results at which we have already arrived.

We have placed in the Appendix the evidence of the witnesses examined; the documents referred to in the evidence or produced before the Commissioners; the cases which had been submitted to eminent counsel on either side of the question, together with the opinions thereupon; also the Report on the subject made by the Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, and the Resolutions passed by the Upper as well as the Lower House of that Convocation; and the Resolution passed by the Convocation of the province of York.

All which we humbly beg leave to submit to your Majesty.

C. T. CANTUAR. (L.S.)
M. G. ARMAGH. (L.S.)
STANHOPE. (L.S.)
HARROWBY. (L.S.)
BEAUCHAMP. (L.S.)
A. C. LONDON. (L.S.)
C. ST. DAVID'S. (L.S.)
S. OXON. (L.S.)
C. J. GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL. (L.S.)
PORTMAN. (L.S.)
EBURY. (L.S.)
SPENCER H. WALPOLE. (L.S.)
EDWARD CARDWELL. (L.S.)
JOSEPH NAPIER. (L.S.)
WILLIAM PAGE WOOD. (L.S.)
*ROBERT J. PHILLIMORE. (L.S.)
TRAVERS TWISS. (L.S.)
JOHN DUKE COLERIDGE. (L.S.)
JOHN ABEL SMITH. (L.S.)
*A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE. (L.S.)
J. G. HUBBARD. (L.S.)
ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY. (L.S.)
H. GOODWIN. (L.S.)
J. A. JEREMIE. (L.S.)
R. PAYNE SMITH. (L.S.)
HENRY VENN. (L.S.)
W. G. HUMPHRY. (L.S.)
ROBERT GREGORY. (L.S.)
†THOMAS WALTER PERRY. (L.S.)

W. F. KEMP, *Secretary.*

19th August, 1867.

We agree to the main proposition contained in this Report, and have therefore signed it, upon the understanding that it does not exclude the consideration of cases, in which the authority of the Bishop and the rights of the parishioners and congregations are carefully guarded.

ROBERT J. PHILLIMORE.
A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.

† In signing this Report, I think it right to express my conviction that any power to 'restrain' the 'variations in respect of vesture,' to which the Report refers, ought to be limited to cases in which 'grave offence' is likely to be given by introducing such 'vesture' into churches against the

mind of the people; and also to state that by 'aggrieved parishioners' I understand to be meant those who, being bonâ fide members and communicants of the Church of England, have a reasonable ground for 'complaint and redress.'

THOS. W. PERRY.

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